XIX. No. 115 September 1940

STUDIES

Irish Quarterly Review

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JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL.
HENRY JOSEPH CAMPBELL.
THOMAS VINCENT MURPHY.
CHARLES MARTIN O'KELLY.
STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE.
GEORGE ROCHE, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS:
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 30 Westmoreland Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 29th day of July, 1940.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1940, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£33,341	4	4
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,231	10	9
	£60,572	15	1
The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	28,072	15	1
	£60,572	15	1

The Reserve Fund remains at £740,000.

MR. CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN, owing to reasons of health, felt himself compelled to retire from the Board, on which he had rendered valuable service to the Bank for twenty years. MR. HENRY JOSEPH CAMPBELL has resigned the position of General Manager and has been co-opted to fill the vacancy on the Board.

MR. GEORGE ROCHE, who held the position of Secretary, has been appointed General Manager, with a seat on the Board.

MR. MICHAEL J. MITCHELL has been appointed Secretary.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE ROCHE,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11*th July*, 1940.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1940.

Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
...ital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,220,321 6 6
...erve Fund	740,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz. :—	
...solidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks, (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	4,336,107 15 6
ss : Held by the Bank ... 26,779 0 0	523,221 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	195,214 15 9
...posit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,316,156 1 8		£5,751,643 17 9
...dry Agents	43,371 7 5	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,258,320 7 7
...pate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	4,599 15 10	,, Sundry Agents	19,896 3 8
...fit and Loss Account ...	60,572 15 1	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	158,060 11 0
	£12,187,921 0 0		£12,187,921 0 0

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1940.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
...penses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	123,757 7 4	By Balance from last Account ...	27,231 10 9
...idend to be paid August, 1940, ...bject to deduction £ s. d. ...Income Tax ... 27,500 0 0		,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	157,098 11 8
...nk Premises Account ... 5,000 0 0			
...lance to next Acct. 28,072 15 1	60,572 15 1		
	£184,330 2 5		£184,330 2 5

AUDITORS' REPORT

...have obtained all the information and explanations we have ...ed in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing ... and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

...have verified the Investments. Their market value as on ... June, 1940, is in excess of the amount at which they ... in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and ...in hand at the Head Office.

...he Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as ...ibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's ... according to the best of our information and the explana... ...given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company ...he Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

...N, 11th July, 1940.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
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CHARLES M. O'KELLY,
} *Directors.*

GEORGE ROCHE, *General Manager.*

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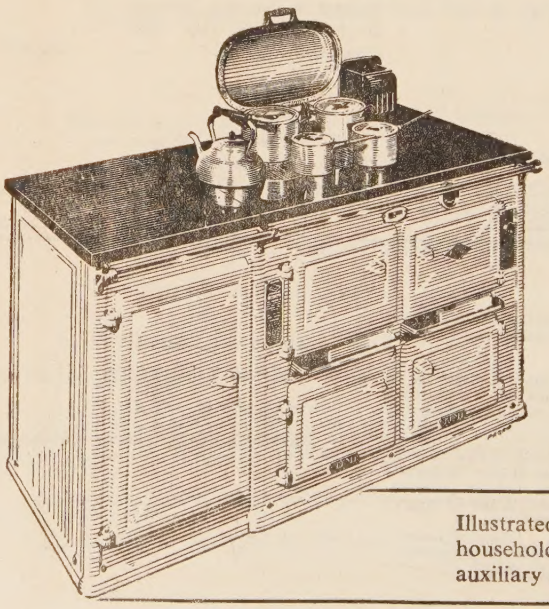

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STUDIES

Irish Quarterly Review

EMBER 1940

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SEDAN 1870—1940*

BY DENIS GWYNN

ROFESSOR BROGAN'S masterly study of the Third Republic was planned and largely completed before outbreak of the present war, and he has made no attempt ring the narrative up to date. The brief epilogue of a pages opens with M. Daladier's formation of a Government ational Defence in April 1938, which marked the final ch with the Popular Front. It records the subsequent lopments, including Mr. Chamberlain's visits to Berchtes- n and Munich, their sequel in the agreement signed in s between M. Bonnet and Herr von Ribbentrop, the urst of Italian clamour for Nice, Savoy and Tunis, the lly growing conviction that war could no longer be averted, the conclusion of the Russo-German treaty which left no ot that war was now at hand. Mr. Brogan concludes a reference to the bitter statement by Georges Duhamel Munich that " France, in withdrawing behind the Maginot had lost the Descartes line, that intellectual tradition ing the European home and friend of liberty of the body liberty of the mind." " It had now been discovered," dds, " that such a retreat was impossible for France : the Descartes line and the Maginot line were one. An nown soldier in September 1938 had known that. Across Rhine the Germans had hoisted a placard : ' Ein Reich, Volk, Ein Fuehrer.' He, in reply, put up his board. On as written ' Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.' The battle een these two ideals had begun."

n a volume of over 700 pages, so crammed with documen- n that the insertion of footnote references has been ssible, Mr. Brogan presents the whole complicated story e rise and growth of the Third Republic and the vast nsion of the French colonial Empire within living memory.

The Development of Modern France 1870–1939. By D. W. Brogan. (Hamish ton. 1940. 21s.).
Clemenceau. By Léon Daudet. (Hodge. 1940. 12s. 6d.)

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Mr. Brogan's epigram, that "the Maginot line and Descartes line were one," must not, however, be taken literally; for the Maginot line, although it may have bee disastrous military illusion, did symbolise the determinat of France to defend its frontiers and its way of life fr invasion. French military history presents as many instan of stupid leadership as does that of other countries. Nor Mr. Brogan have despaired of the revival of France's natio spirit because even the motto of Liberty, Equality a Fraternity has been temporarily superseded by another wh stresses the immediate need for toil and for the restorat of the family and of patriotic service. The new France have more urgent tasks than to remove from its public build the motto which has for so many years been graven in st over their portals. Yet it was solemnly believed in ma countries, when the first reports of the intentions of Bordeaux Government were announced, that Marshal Pét and his colleagues did really intend to attempt some su total breach with the traditions of all modern France.

A somewhat similar suggestion was in fact made in 1 when there were hopes of a restoration of the Bourbon m archy by achieving a reconciliation between the Comte Chambord and the Comte de Paris. The story may be usefu recalled now, when vague talk of a monarchist restoration once more revived under a régime in which royalist Gene have become the figureheads and the propagandists of *Action Française* have attained a powerful influence.

gan describes the situation after the fall of the Paris mmune, when the Republic was still a stopgap and any ng candidate for the throne, which had been left vacant the downfall of Napoleon III, would have had a supreme portunity to command a following :—

> The solution of the problem of 1871 was obvious. Let the Comte Chambord, now entering on his fifties, be King and then in due rse let his younger kinsman succeed. As a necessary preliminary the two branches of the royal family make peace, publicly, to the ght of their supporters and to the confusion of the enemies of lic order and of the Assembly. The ' fusion ' of the two dynasties l claims in one united family and theory would unite the fervour the Legitimists, a much more warm and combative political force n the prudent utilitarianism of the Orleanists, with what these e prudent Orleanists had in plenty, money, presentable modern trines and leaders of ability. La Vendée would be allied with the *ue des Deux Mondes*, the Academy, the great banks and the great ustrial companies.

The royalists were encouraged in these hopes by the mte de Chambord's unexpected decision, after forty years exile, to revisit France. He passed quickly through Paris stay at the Château de Chambord, but he took no steps sound public opinion or to make himself known to his porters ; and after a very brief visit he left France again, ving drafted a proclamation to his future subjects. The st important part of that proclamation was his public usal to accept the tricolour, which (as Mr. Brogan points t) had, " save for an interval of fifteen years, been the g of France since 1789."

> It was an absurd affront to the vast majority of the French people. e tricolour flag was theirs ; it was the flag of Valmy and of Austerlitz ; re than that, it was the flag of the recent disasters, of the shame of lan, of the glory of Belfort ; to abandon it now, in its moment of tress, would have been odious. All of which things were obvious almost everybody in France, even to those Royalists who detested emblem of Revolution—and yet they meant nothing to the elderly, ne, and obstinate man whose life in exile had cut him off from the ing forces in the land which he believed he was divinely designed rule. To ask him to give up " the flag of Henri IV, of Francis I, Joan of Arc " was to attack his honour.

Marshal Pétain himself in 1871 was already quite enough to understand the humiliation and the dissensions those years. He is generally reputed to be royalist by co viction, as is also General Weygand, though he was only infant in those mournful years. But it is inconceivable th at the end of their long lives, either of them should now belie that a restoration of the monarchy in France could be achiev without provoking an immediate civil war, even if the oth Powers which are now in a position to dictate to France w willing to allow of such a restoration. Mr. Brogan does exaggerate when, in describing the overthrow of the Emp on the 4th of September 1870, he asserts that "Bismar more than any other man, founded the Third Republic." people of France had not desired to rise in revolt against Empire. On the contrary, the Emperor had gained an ov whelming majority in the plebiscite which, a few mon before the war, he had ordered to express approval or otherw of his acceptance of Emile Ollivier as Prime Minister for inauguration of a more liberal régime. The result, in Brogan's words, had been "more gratifying than the Empe had dared hope and far worse than the Opposition had fear Over seven million Frenchmen approved of the imper régime in its new dress, while the number of opponents only a little greater than in 1851 and 1852. The million a a half of irreconcilables were helpless in face of this vo The Emperor had a new grant of authority." Yet by Septe ber of the same year "the system that had resisted all attac and which had a few months before been acclaimed by t vast majority of the French people, was overthrown witho a shadow of resistance as a result of a great French defea

It was Paris, and not France, that had made the revolutio The Emperor was already a prisoner after the rout of army at Sedan, while General Bazaine still clung to the fortr of Metz where another large part of the army had been su rounded. In Paris alone was it possible to organise an effecti continuance of the struggle; and the new Government National Defence, which included representatives of almo every party, was formed entirely of Paris deputies or of tho

had been elected for Paris constituencies but chose to for others. Moreover the supremacy of Paris was deately assured by Léon Gambetta when he established self as Minister of the Interior while his colleagues were erating, and he lost no time in issuing orders to the vinces. Mr. Brogan deals brilliantly with the immensely plicated situation that resulted : the exaltation of those ublicans who had waited for years while disappointments med their hopes of a return to the principles of the great olution, the bewilderment of the monarchists in face of mperial disaster for which no excuse could be put forward, ivalries and the conflicting plans of Generals who distrusted new levies of untrained troops that the Republican govern- t brought into existence, the driving energy of Gambetta, the arrogant pride of Paris which believed in its own ion to lead the country in resistance. In Lyons and in seilles there had been similar outbursts of republican our ; but there were strong tendencies to refuse the dictation rders from Paris, and Gambetta's task involved persuasion uch as command. The decision of Paris to fight on and withstand a siege (even though the necessary measures to re provisions and garrisons were insanely neglected) had only put new heart into the unconquered parts of France had upset all the calculations of the German Generals. y had counted upon the war being over by October. But fall of Metz brought no conclusion. When news of it hed Paris at the end of the month, there was an outburst ioting and the Ministers, including General Trochu, were rescued by a combination of good fortune and courageous on.

Not until the end of January 1871 were the armistice is agreed upon ; but Gambetta still declared that, " thanks Paris, if we are resolute patriots we have in hand all the ssary means to avenge it and free ourselves." A week he was driven to resignation, and the general elections luced an overwhelming majority for the peace policy h had been pursued by Thiers and Favre. Yet the fight to continue in Paris, where the resignation of Gambetta

and the emergence of Thiers as the new ruler of France provoke bitter resentment. Thiers set to work without delay to disar the city, but his unsuccessful attempt to remove the gu from the artillery park on Montmartre was quickly followe by the formation of the Commune. Mr. Brogan tells tha tragic story in a vivid chapter which shows the vast complic tion of the reactions that were developing during those month of chaos and humiliation. The massacres and the wanto destruction caused by the Communards recalled the excess of the revolutionary Terror; and one more archbishop Paris, in 1871 as in 1848, was shot during the upheaval. Bu the casualties and destruction caused by the forces of orde were vastly greater. As Mr. Brogan, who reveals no partisa spirit, writes :—

> All in all, the regular army lost less than a thousand dead, while reasonable estimate of the dead on the defeated side cannot be le than 20,000. No defeat at German hands was nearly as costly French life as was the defeat of the Commune; and few victories hav been more blindly rejoiced in. In the Commune died the old confide romantic Paris of which Hugo had been the product and the poe "Since 1789," wrote Louis Veuillot, "France has had only one Kin Paris." That monarch was now dethroned, with far more bloodsh than had been necessary to secure the deposition and execution the heir of thirty kings. For the Reign of Terror was far less blood than the "Bloody Week," and its blood was thinly spread over year. In the conflict between France and her arrogant capital, Par was at last beaten. And if universal suffrage was to have its wa it was as necessary to dethrone Paris as to dethrone any Bonapart or Bourbon. Thanks to M. Thiers it had been done. "They ha seemed to think," said MacMahon of the Communards, "that the were defending a sacred cause, the independence of Paris." Tha sacred cause was dead, leaving to the workers of the world a legend

It is necessary to recall these events for any appreciatio of the strong contrast between the situation resulting fro the present French collapse and that which followed upo the capitulation of Napoleon III at Sedan. In 1870 Pari not only persevered in fighting after the rest of the countr had resolved upon surrender, but succeeded in prolonging th war for months after the German victory had become inevitable In 1940 it was the surrender of Paris without fighting tha

e further military resistance impossible. Paris has thus only lost its former hegemony over the rest of France, has been cut off from the territories which are still to ain under French administration. That of course does not ly that the old spirit of Paris is dead or that the German ipation will be accepted there with less hostility than ie provinces. On the contrary, Paris may quickly become of the chief centres for organised sabotage and passive tance. But the old conflict between Paris and the pro- es has been inevitably aroused, and a new impetus has given to the agitation which has been gaining ground years past in favour of a decentralisation of French local ernment. The partition of France into occupied and ccupied territories made it impossible for the former em to continue. The Bordeaux Government's decision to press the *départements* and revive the old system of pro- ial administration was the only means by which nstruction could possibly proceed. There was a widespread unciation of that decision in the press of foreign countries, ch affected to see in it a slavish imitation of the Nazi anisation under Gauleiters for each region. But a moment's ection should have shown that there was no alternative, e Paris was occupied and France had been temporarily nembered.

It is very probable that the Germans, in their desire to roy the power and the unity of France, calculate that the akdown of centralised government will result in a general ntegration, and that propaganda and military pressure ether will succeed in creating deep divisions in France ch would make a return to national unity extremely cult. Brittany is a conspicuous instance of the possibilities hat direction. Its local traditions have been for generations onflict with those of the central government in Paris, and e has been a separatist Breton movement of some sort existence for many years. The memory of its military quest by General Hoche in 1795 is not yet dead, and there much more recent memories of organised resistance to anti-religious legislation of Masonic governments in Paris

both before and after the last war. Use of the Breton languag has been gradually dying out, but it is still prevalent amon the peasantry and the fishermen of the western *département* and the traditional peasant costumes and headdresses are sti worn there. In a movement very similar to that of th Gaelic League, much enthusiasm has been spent on the effo to revive or at least prevent the disappearance of both languag and traditional customs. But modern housing, moder clothing and modern transport have produced a gener transformation in the new generation. Rennes and Nant have grown into typical modern cities, while the norther coastline has been greatly affected by its dependence upo tourist traffic from England and, especially, by the intensi development of agriculture for direct sale to the Englis markets.

With the German military occupation of the Chann coast the Breton farmers have not only lost the immen market upon which they have depended for their expo trade. Their harbours, which were largely built by Engli or American capital during and since the last war, have be deliberately wrecked and put out of action by British nav parties before the Germans could arrive. The fishing fleet which have for generations sailed every autumn to the New foundland cod banks, will now be compelled to stay at hom The French fleet itself was very largely composed of Breto seamen, and they also will be without employment now tha the French fleet is out of commission. There should certainl be no difficulty in reviving the latent anti-British feeling whic has flared up from time to time ever since the days of th Corsairs in the revolutionary wars. But hatred of German was no less virulent in Brittany than in the eastern province and the Bretons are unlikely to welcome the commandeerin of all their agricultural produce for German needs. Yet th detestation of government from Paris was extremely strong Brittany has always remained one of the most intensel Catholic provinces of France. The proportion of Breton among the French clergy has been as high as that of Breto seamen in the fleet, and they have provided a large proportio

ıe French missionaries in distant countries. Nowhere has
je been a keener sense of the Masonic domination of French
ic life through the centralised control in Paris, which
red that in every Government for decades past the Ministry
ıe Interior should be retained in the hands of some *enfant*
des loges like M. Malvy or M. Chautemps.

As a leading member of the Pétain Ministry, M. Chautemps
t have had a desperate task to preserve from total wreckage
Masonic system of which he has been a principal pillar
o many years. The decision to abandon the old centralised
em of the *départements* shattered the whole framework
in which he and his colleagues have worked securely for
ng. That M. Charles Maurras should have appealed for
y in support of the Pétain Government was scarcely a
antee that old feuds would be forgotten. It was the
e Chautemps that the *Action Française* hounded out of
ıe at the time of Stavisky riots in Paris early in 1934. In
e turbulent months M. Chiappe had been prefect of police
aris, and both Chautemps and Daladier had been deter-
ed to remove him as the price of gaining Socialist support
ıe Chambre. His dismissal had brought the riots to their
ax, and for a time the Left-wing politicians had been
t aside in favour of old Gaston Doumergue. They came
through the skilful exploitation of the Popular Front at
general elections, and the period of chaos and corruption
ensued led to the outbreak of war and the overwhelming
ter in which it ended. And now, with the Germans
pying Paris, Chiappe is once more reinstated, as President
ıe municipal council in Paris, while Chautemps has only
ided the veteran Generals with some colour of political
ort for the signature of the armistice. In appealing for
y among all Frenchmen, Maurras might well feel that his
opportunity had come at last. But even he, with his
ıate knowledge of French history, can scarcely believe
the restoration of monarchy in France has been brought
in the range of practical politics. Only last autumn he
proclaiming, with such vehemence that the French censor

prohibited the publication of many of his articles, that the could be no peace until France signed a separate treaty wi every one of the German States after the Reich had be dismembered for ever. A prophet who has already pass his seventieth year must have grown accustomed to taki long views. Neither he nor the old Generals, royalists heart, who have undertaken to rescue France from the deso tion wrought by the Republic can expect to see the fulfilme of their desires. But they may well believe that the time h come at last for applying those first and fundamental measur of reform which Maurras has been urging with passiona eloquence for years.

Nearly twenty years ago, at the invitation of the Edit of this Review, the present writer contributed two artic outlining the general programme of M. Maurras, which was that time gaining so many adherents in France. In his dema for a return to the monarchical traditions of France Maur showed not only how the revolution of 1789 had broken do the old constitution but how Napoleon, by making all gove ment depend upon his personal will, had abolished ev institution which under the monarchy had safeguarded t private and local interests of the people. "A State," argued, "which is not based upon popular election can s without dismay the associations and organisations of citizens rising above it in certain spheres : it has no cause fear anyone but those who are factionists or who disturb t peace. But an elective State is absolutely dependent and consequently afraid of everything . . . A State whi desires to become strong concentrates all its energies upon i own true sphere of action and rids itself of all distract functions ; a State which seeks to deliver the national intere from the incompetent control of private citizens gets them occupy themselves with the interests that they are compete to direct." Napoleon, and his successors during the subseque intervals of personal rule, had not restored the old monarchic system, but had only intensified the encroachments of t State upon private and local interests ; there could be

n to stable and healthy government until the process been reversed by a return to regionalism. In a masterly ohlet on Decentralisation Maurras asserted :—

f the patriotic ideal is to be saved, the country itself be reformed ; just as the State must be reformed, if the ption of Government is to be saved. To the communes be left the management of all affairs that are specially their . to the provinces the questions that concern the provinces ; so the supreme national organisation may be relieved of all the ions that sap its strength, and may bring a greater continuity nergy of purpose to the direction of the country's national destinies. onsolidation and development of the forces of France cannot be possible until after a thoroughly comprehensive and wide scheme centralisation has been carried out. Not until this first problem een solved can it be ever possible to grasp and tackle and solve hers. For they all alike depend first upon it, and they are literally dinate to it. Whoever would seek to reorganise our nation must ring back to life its primary elements—its communal and pro- l life. Whoever desires to see the fulfilment of the nationalist amme must start by making a framework on federal lines.

here is no doubt that, even among men who had no athy with the royalist propaganda of the *Action Française*, advocacy of a return to regional administration, as an e from the instability and corruption of French politics is a positive contribution to the revival of local traditions, d a wide following throughout France over a long period ears. Maurras preached regionalism as the necessary de to the reform of national institutions. In the present trophe, when France's national institutions have been ntly overthrown, regionalism becomes not only the means tional revival but an end in itself, in so far as it offers only basis upon which France's recovery can proceed. doctrines which Maurras urged in his campaign for ntralisation can be accepted now, not as the last hope of strated and divided people but as the essential step towards ning those national institutions which had been abandoned disastrous results. There need be no fear of attempts erman propaganda or German interference to exploit egional patriotism of the French provinces in order to pt France, in the same way that Maurras and his friends

had vowed that Germany must be disrupted. The nationa tradition is too strong and too deeply rooted for any such attempts to succeed.

Not least among the forces that must work inevitably fo national recovery is the Church, as the custodian not only o the people's lives in their small parishes but of the shrines an the memories that unite every part of France. If the Churc finds it more prudent, as the rulers of unoccupied France wi obviously find it more prudent, to concentrate for the tim being upon the revival of each separate province, France a a whole will have lost nothing by increased local devotion t Lourdes or Lisieux, to the Curé d'Ars or St. Joan of Ar They are a part of the national heritage of France, and n military occupation or political machinations can deprive th Church or the people of France of their glory and their pro tection. That such feelings should arise spontaneously in th time of desolation was only to be expected, and one insta of their immediate expression deserves to be noted. As former member of the Allied High Command at the close the last war and as a veteran of the war of 1870, General Castelnau's attitude towards the national surrender was some importance, all the more because he is also the Preside of the National Catholic Federation. In a manifesto publish when the first request for an armistice had been sent b Marshal Pétain he expressed his bitter grief and his hope a final defeat of Nazidom by British arms. A few days lat he was already issuing manifestoes to the local leaders of th Catholic Federation, urging them to redouble their efforts i every parish, to increase their membership and strengthe their local associations, in order to strengthen the hands the national executive in carrying on its work.

That the spirit of the Revanche will persist and that will soon find means of expression in many forms cannot b doubted for a moment. The old conflict between Paris an the provinces will not die quickly, and there may yet b sanguinary outbursts, though it may be hoped that the lesso of the Commune in 1871 has not been forgotten. Thiers the had to appeal to Bismarck for the release of French prisone

ar in order to strengthen his forces for the restoration of
:. Similar requests may yet be forthcoming from Vichy
y serious disorder arises under the appalling strain that
)een placed upon the unoccupied territories. But the main
e of conflict in 1871 has been avoided, at any rate at the
et, since there can be no question now of the provinces
npting to impose their will upon Paris so long as it remains
r German occupation. Moreover, the new constitution
h has been established by the Vichy Government, pro-
s for an immediate decentralisation of authority to the
inces, whereas Gambetta seized all central powers into
wn hands while Paris continued the struggle. In his old
Maurras may well feel that the problems of the German
pation have certainly not been simplified by the adoption
at part of his programme. In Paris alone the Germans
encounter more than enough audacity and ingenuity in
ance, while the provinces have time to develop their own
active plans and to throw up new leaders.

How Clemenceau would have faced the new situation in
prime is a speculation which Léon Daudet, the chief
enant of Charles Maurras, provokes by the characteristi-
brilliant and vivid biography which has just been
ished, in an English translation which plays havoc with
ively style. Mr. Brogan introduces Daudet in his book
incisive phrases which apply admirably to this new life
emenceau. "Daudet," he writes, "had qualities Maurras
d; he had a sense of humour, a much less doctrinaire
ude to letters and the arts, and an astonishing gift for
dalous controversy. He was a more coherent Rochefort,
s solemn Drumont; his nose for scandal was superb, and
aste for it could hardly be restrained even when an ally
in question." Clemenceau's life provides him with a
nificent subject for such gifts, and he uses them with all
amiliar gusto. He deals with the earlier episodes of the
's life, when he was mayor of Montmartre as a young
or, only in retrospect at the outset of a book which is
ly a study of him as the embodiment of the national
mination for recovery and for revenge. As a royalist,

Daudet has no sympathy with that passionate devotion
republican institutions which played so large a part in
resurgence that restored France after the disgrace and humi
tion of Sedan. But his own career has been inspired b
similar hatred of the political system under which his
has been spent in fierce controversies against the exist
régime. He and his many disciples attribute the pres
defeat of France to the Third Republic, just as Clemence
generation attributed Sedan to the misgovernment of
Third Empire. But to restore the Republic after 1870 wa
simple process, whereas the royalist dream of restoring
traditional monarchy is scarcely more hopeful than an atte
to re-establish Humpty Dumpty. Some form of corpora
State, organised at first in the provinces and later exten
to include the whole country when the German occupatio
ended, would seem to be the only practicable solution.
the meantime it can only be assumed that the Nazi R
intends to retain a permanent occupation of northern Fra
as well as Alsace Lorraine, with hopes of establishing separa
States in Brittany and other parts. They may even bel
that the return to provincial government which has b
decreed by the Pétain Government will assist such proj
and that the fundamental reform which Maurras had advoc
for years will tend to weaken and not to strengthen the cen
power. But they have yet to reckon with the revival
national ardour in every province and with the Paris w
has risen in revolt against its own rulers many times in
past, and which vowed to continue the war unaided in 1
They have to reckon also with the fact that even an irrepress
monarchist like Léon Daudet can find a national hero in
Republican Clemenceau.

DENIS GWYN

JESUIT INFLUENCE IN BAROQUE ART

BY C. P. CURRAN, M.A.

In one of his regrettable moments Ruskin apprehended a sensible retribution of divine wrath on the arts of England the place in her legislature "impiously conceded to the manist." This approach to art criticism was common in English nineteenth century, and it would be a diverting time to determine who first, anticipating or following up line of criticism, used the word "Jesuitical" in obloquy whatever form of art was at the moment out of favour. historian Freeman seems to have found an "air of uitry" in an otherwise unimpeachable example of Byzanto-manesque; Lord Palmerston a little earlier pronounced hic "dark and jesuitical"; but on the whole nineteenth tury opinion settled down to a simple identification of oque and Jesuit art with the Gesù and S. Ignazio as its spicuous enormities. The appreciation of baroque, it need dly be said, was at its lowest point at this date. Had umstances permitted Michelangelo, now recognised as the ner of baroque, to carry through his undertaking mentioned St. Ignatius to build a church for St. Francis Borgia "for e devotion and without any gain," it might be that the dow of his great name might have sheltered the Society n this particular attack. But time has brought its revenges, in the juster view of baroque that now prevails the old nt has lost its sting.

Though not without substantial foundation, this identi-tion of Jesuit and baroque art was at no time wholly exact. oque was already the prevailing style in 1580, years earlier n Vignola's design for the Gesù and a century before iccia finished the decoration. Its origins must be sought ut 1520, when purely Renaissance work ceased to be cuted—that is to say, a date twenty years before the firmation of the Society's Charter by Paul III. The art

of the Jesuit churches was in fact contemporary, local a in that sense accidental. In Belgium and northern Eur their first churches were Gothic; in Italy and the south t built in the contemporary style, the *stilo moderno*; and China Fr. Castiglione and his colleagues adapted themsel to the local tradition.

This new style, the baroque, was in its own day, as n recognised as a genuine style and not as a decadence. Har less independent of the Renaissance than Gothic was of Rom esque, its roots are already in the last works of the master the high Renaissance, of Bramante, Raffaelle and Peru From 1520 a new spirit begins to disengage itself from Renaissance and, reaching its full development in 1580 expresses itself through Michelangelo, Sangallo, Vignola a Della Porta in grandiose constructions whose mass and sever are as equally removed from the academic elegance Renaissance building as from its own later refinements. second period begins with Bernini and ends with the n classicism of the eighteenth century; and though in It its architecture preserved to the end the gravity of the f phase, it is still to Italy that one traces the motives t elsewhere have their full rococo development.

A new style in any art is the result of a new attitud the artist and must be considered under two separate aspe The first is its purely formal development under the arti hands, and this development has a life and logic of its o It is conditioned by the artist's material, his invention, passion to explore to its last issue the resources of his a The second is the state of being of the society in which he liv Sometimes these two factors correspond and reinforce e other; sometimes they are in conflict before mutual und standing is ultimately and painfully arrived at. In seventeenth century the movement of ideas which we co pendiously call the Counter-Reformation was not out harmony with that other movement in art which, tra forming the ideals and forms of the Renaissance into what specifically call baroque, rescued art from archaeology. T two movements were not out of accord, but might have beco

We can imagine accidents that would have thrown the currents into violent collision. The indignation of good n had much to feed on in the age of Aretino and Giulio nano. Misdirected or infected with the spirit of the puritan iconoclast, their reforming zeal might have swept art of the Church or fossilised it there—as happened in the ek Church—into the rigidity of eikons ; just as the reform church music might conceivably have extended to a veto n all music in our churches other than the chant, were it for the living example of Palestrina and the good sense of Charles Borromeo and Pius IV.

The Society of Jesus was the spear-head of the Counter-formation. It is by no means fantastic to suppose that, l the Society been animated by an uncomprehending puritan it, painting and the plastic arts would have disappeared n our 17th century churches. In such an event ecclesiastical might have been the object of some deliberate or sporadic ival, but its continuity and extent would have been ir-arably impaired. The normal action of successive genera-ns that, sometimes for good, sometimes for ill determines the ect of our churches would have ended. Healthy popular asions of the sanctuary, of which Gothic and Baroque the two most notable instances, would have been replaced something archaic, aloof and arid.

What is this baroque or, if you like, Jesuit art ? We w the terms in which the English humanists, churchmen l nonconformists—let us say Symonds, Ruskin and Dickens—eed to define it. Under the direction of " monopolists of mmagen " it was, in their view, the capitulation of the sic spirit to religiosity, of art to dogma, of truth to plausible ms. Its vicious building practice violated every architec-ic principle ; its rich or alternatively tinsel decoration was ulgar or alternatively lying appeal to the senses : its ex-ssive naturalism was a theatrical device to stimulate base tion. It was in short Jesuitical and profoundly immoral. dern students—Emile Mâle, Heinrich Wölfflin, Geoffrey tt—find however nothing so corrupt in the principles that lerlie this art of the *seicento* but rather a logical and indeed

not unprecedented unfolding of new motives in the new energy that was drawing together all the post-Renaissance arts into dynamic unity. The expressive form of Michelangelo's art could not be restrained in classic moulds ; antique standards were challenged by even lesser artists and in their revolt the true character of Baroque emerges. We find a new feeling for mass and movement, for great space, for significant light and shadow, an impatience with what is sharply limited, a reaction against what baroque painters called the *secchezza* of the Renaissance and a strong bent towards naturalism. Those characteristics, like those of any new style, for an obvious reason appear most freely in painting and the decorative arts, but they appear perhaps most conspicuously in their strength and weakness in architecture. A particular feature may be best exemplified in secular building ; its sense of movement in a staircase of Vignola's, its picturesque invention in some fountain of Bernini's, its naturalism in some piece of garden architecture. But the baroque church, where the baroque artist finds completest satisfaction, is its typical expression. Here alone he can satisfy his craving for greatness, his passion to transcend the limits of strict form and lose himself in boundless space, a craving in direct variance with the humanistic ideal of the Renaissance. As in Wagner's "art-work of the future," formal distinctions blend and run together. The sculptor's sense of mass, the painter's reliance on movement, light and shade and tricks of perspective are put at the builder's disposal. The baroque sense of mass, in which the true Roman instinct for greatness reappears, suppresses the division into storeys of the façade ; the harmonious disposition of single parts disappears in the powerful arrangement of a single order, as in the apse of St. Peter's. Working for unity baroque reduces separate elements into comparative insignificance. Its feeling for mass further involves a certain tyranny over material which should be intelligible to us however at variance with our ideas. In our day, in spite of the commercial abuse of synthetic materials, we respect *la matière ;* we believe that good technique depends on the recognition of its quality. The baroque artist did not

pt this principle, but exulted in his astounding capacity duce all material indifferently to his design. He confuses co and paint, stone and textiles, and invents illusions. hat people reproach me with," said Bernini, "is my best ity. I make marble pliable as wax and unite in my work resources of painting and sculpture." The pleasure we n structure and in the strictly appropriate use of material aroque artist found in rhythm, in the splendour of vesture, in the animation with which he inspired his mass. inating his material he set it into movement, twisting pillars into spirals, drawing stone into curves, breaking es into sudden upward flight, and interrupting his contours figures lightly poised against the sky whose fluttering ery repudiates the stuff of which they are made. This dynamic treatment of mass, this pictorial element of hm and movement is reinforced by other pictorial elements. orate perspective and the use of light and shade enlarges sense of mysterious space, though it further impairs the e of structure. The apse that closes in the church is enlarged splendour radiating from the high altar ; the flat roof is ted and great spaces are enclosed by the dome or rather ed up to interfuse two worlds by the magic of light in w and marvellous perspective.

It is tempting to find in every new style the spirit of its but there is rarely at any given moment such a pure valence. Where in Gothic, as Wölfflin asks, does one find f of the dominant feudalism or scholasticism of the Middle s. But there are echoes and approximations, and in baroque articular the analogies are far too obvious to be ignored, r every account has been taken of formal change and or- c development. When one thinks of the previous century, is insensibly drawn into an atmosphere of studious or rious quiet, a tranquillity enjoyed in solitude or in a ce company. One thinks of Pico amongst his books, or some company in a Boccaccio garden, or of Lorenzo nining some new-found marble, or of a party at Chigi's. n we pass to the baroque century, there is uproar and roversy ; revolution is on the march and the typical

figures are in council or amongst violently disputing crowd gesturing in pulpits or abroad in lazar-houses and galley The Renaissance quiet is broken up, everything is moveme and multitude. Most conspicuously this activity show itself in the spiritual energy that stemmed the Luther heresy.

The age of the Counter-Reformation is ardent a passionate, knows anguish, struggle and ecstasy. Support by new wealth this energy overflowed into the arts, whi themselves became less a source of private delight th tributary to the new propaganda. Magdalen's ointme could again be spilt recklessly. An individual pontiff li Paul IV, with his mind on Turkish wars and the sack Rome in his memory, might think it more immediate necessary to fortify Rome than to adorn it with picture but the purposeful dedication at this moment of the a to the Church could, as we have said, be frustrated only some invasion of the puritan or jansenistic spirit. This sp is as naturally alien to Rome as to the newly formed Soci that played a foremost part in the spiritual expansion. T Society's practical and modern character ensured sympa with contemporary art; its need for churches brought members into immediate touch with the world of art, a the new churches built and decorated in the new manner quickly to the identification of Jesuit with baroque art.

The new manner, in reflecting aspects of its age, reflect vividly the mind of the new Society, which was inseparal from the whole spiritual movement. The irresistible pressu from within that broke up the classic serenity of t Renaissance, the revolt from its *secchezza* had technical orig and results; but it was in its essence a spiritual aspiratio an expression of the sublime that touches the very nerve baroque. It was guided by Tridentine decrees which, eliminating many, no doubt, charming, irrelevant and insign cant naiveties, provided a code making for clarity and co centration. The *Spiritual Exercises*, practised by the baroq artists and their patrons, supplemented this code by formi a *habitus* to which such concentration was natural. T

al made by the *Exercises* to the visual imagination and senses, the exercise of one faculty after another upon Christian mysteries—the senses by images, the memory understanding by recollection and meditation, the well-wn composition of place—this method, proceeding from oncrete to the abstract, was one to which the artist readily onds. It was a method which, like the new art, had its in naturalism. Reinforcing itself by a like emotional appeal concentrated upon its purpose, baroque became an pressible energy, dominating material, exploring space and ring after its fashion for the infinite. One may push this llel with the Jesuit spirit a little further. In the ordonnance baroque church there is a unity not more evident, perhaps, appears in the scheme of a swiftly finished cathedral Chartres but none the less impressive and significant. hows itself in structure and decoration. In this unity, he controlled rhythm of a façade and the suppression of livisions, in the studied concentration upon the altar is e not something analogous to the disciplined uniformity ction which, with such careful safeguards of free-will, is rined in the Constitutions? And is not the criticism lled at the famous phrase *perinde ac cadaver* paralleled n directed with more justice against the tyranny by which baroque artist reduces and transforms his material to an l purpose?

The religious iconography of seventeenth century art is and authoritatively treated in Emile Mâle's *L'Art religieux s le Concile de Trent.* The wealth of this instructional ration both in subject and material was a formal vin-tion of the place of art in the church against Lutheran oclasm, just as the contemporary establishment by papal 's of the Academy under the name of St. Luke was an tion of a traditional association. Writing against the oclasts, Canisius protested that "if we were angels we ld have no need of churches, cult or images, but we are men . . . . The innovators accuse us of prodigality in ch ornament; they resemble Judas reproaching Magdalen pouring perfume on the head of Christ." The subjects,

particularly in the new Jesuit churches, were deliberate chosen to exhibit these Catholic beliefs and principles th were the special object of attack: the Eucharist, the angel the doctrine of purgatory, the veneration of the Bless Virgin, the cult of the saints, the sacraments, the effica of good works, and the authority of the chair of Peter. the first years of the Order, when persecution raged in Germa and England, the Jesuit novitiates for these countries we decorated by inferior artists like Pomerancio with scenes martyrdom and death, steeling the nerves of neophytes the deadly realities that awaited them. But in later yea in the seventeenth century, these scenes gave way to the fu and proud exposition of Catholic doctrines and to scenes ecstasy and triumph at the hands of greater masters in a sty equally remote from the cold classicism of the Carracci sch and the suspect realism of Caravaggio. The baroque arti set themselves to show, as against the white-washed conventi mosque or synagogue, what splendid effects could be achiev in figured churches of coloured marbles with altars orn with gold and precious stones under cupolas ecstatica populated with men and angels. The doctrine of the re presence justified every magnificence. In this period of recov and increasing security the new art was perfected, at on ceremonious and popular, appealing to the senses by eve device of colour, form, and material and to the intelligen by system and allegory, ravishing both feeling and intelligen by its indwelling sense of mystery and ecstasy.

Its leaders are the great names of seventeenth centu art—El Greco, Rubens and Bernini—El Greco in Toled who produced the earliest baroque pictures; Rubens Flanders, the technical master of European painting; an Bernini in Rome, architect, sculptor and painter whose activi sums up the whole spirit of baroque. These three men fou their intellectual subsoil in the Jesuit aesthetic and stood close personal relation with the Order.[1]

These relations left their most interesting record in Greco's case in the so-called *Dream of Philip II* (c. 158

[1] Waterhouse: *Baroque Painting in Rome.*

inted for the sacristy of the Jesuit Church in Toledo and w in the chapter hall of the Escorial. It is an example of e pure baroque of El Greco's last period matured from e date of his arrival in Toledo and from contact with members the Order. It represents the king's vision of the Church litant and triumphant, of heaven and hell adoring or con-nded by the Sign of Christ. "Here the abyss of earth lls to the abyss of heaven. In an aerial landscape, which nsists of rolling clouds like a naked mountain of rocks, a lden abyss is opening in which the sacred monogram, the dge of the Jesuit Order, is planted . . . . A cloud half conceals gel-shapes and casts its great shadow on the earth beneath. low, through the shadows, a mighty procession of saints streaming towards the foreground of the picture, their reheads gleaming white like the crest of waves. In the ntre three praying figures, Philip II, Charles V and the anish Pope; in the right foreground the mouth of hell . . . The picture is full of the spirit of the early Jesuits."[2] century lies between this work and Baciccia's ceiling of e Gesù illustrating, according to Jesuit iconography, *The iumph of the Name of Jesus.* It is no coincidence that the ht irradiating this composition again streams from the same onogram and device.

The association of Rubens with the Jesuits began before left Flanders for his *wander-jahre* in Italy. He was then young man of twenty-three; but before this date (1600) had painted, for the Professed House of the Order in ntwerp, the *Annunciation* that is now in the Vienna Gallery. ne stage of his Italian journey brought him to Mantua, nere he painted three great canvases for the Jesuit church: *Vision of the Trinity,* a *Baptism of Christ* and a *Trans-uration*—now divided between Mantua, Antwerp and Nancy; id in 1607 he painted, for their Genoese church of S. Ambrogio, *Circumcision,* a subject that occurs frequently in early suit churches by reason of the feast corresponding with e feast of the Holy Name of Jesus. At a later date he inted, for the church of the Jesuits at Neuburg, a *Descent*

[1] Goldschneider: *El Greco* (Phaedon Press).

of the Holy Ghost, an *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the tw famous canvases the *Last Judgment* and the *Fall of the Reb Angels* that now hang in the Munich Pinakothek. His mo considerable commission followed when he was living at th height of his fame in Antwerp in 1620. The Jesuits at th time were finishing their great church at Antwerp, who splendour rivalled the Gesù. Rubens was entrusted with i pictorial decoration, and an elaborate scheme was worke out, in accordance with their programme, from biblical histo and the lives of the saints. Rubens himself executed its thr principal altarpieces, including the well-known *St. Ignati* and *St. Francis Xavier* now in the Vienna Gallery, and wit Van Dyke and his other pupils carried through the seri of no less than thirty-nine subjects that occupied the ceiling The church was struck by lightning and consumed by fi in 1718, and all that survives of this decorative scheme a the admirable designs from Rubens' own hand that are no in Brussels, the Louvre, Vienna and elsewhere. Two oth paintings by Rubens of St. Ignatius date from this perio one in Genoa and the other in the Jesuit church in Brusse

There is in the Antwerp gallery another portrait of S Ignatius, this time garlanded with flowers. It is a characteris work, though not baroque, of P. Daniel Seghers (1590–166 a Jesuit father and master of flower painting. He was a pup of Jan Breughel and surpassed his master in his particul genre. He painted flowers his life long, making of his art devotional exercise. He delighted in laying his most deliciou flowers around medallions of the Blessed Virgin and th saints, and no painter has found, Max Rooses writes, freshe and truer colours for his shimmering blossoms.

The full flowering of baroque art was in Rome itself unde the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623–1644) with Bernini a its typical exemplar. The reputation of even the greates artists rests on this or that masterpiece isolated in som building, but Bernini's name is indissolubly mixed with th stuff of Rome itself. He spun the web of beauty by whic we recognise and remember the eternal city. His plannin of the Piazza del Popolo and its approaches that welcomed th

ller by road from the north—*felici faustoque ingressui*—façades of the great palaces, the Pamphili on Monte io, the Barberini, the Chigi, his many churches, the ng curve of his fountains answering the rush of their inguishable waters, his pavilions and garden vistas, the es that silhouette the Roman skyline—one hundred and -two on the colonnade of St. Peter's!—these pass almost ymously in the long series, starred with masterpieces, atues, portrait busts, papal tombs and altars that filled working years of a prodigious life. Architect, sculptor, er and superb decorator, an untiring improviser who ed the new Rome, as Venturi says, with gold, precious les and fluttering drapery, he drove his quadriga of art atigably for sixty-eight working years (1612–1680) and d through architectural schemes with a superb mastery aterial and a decorative and expository sense perfected e least of his avocations—for Bernini was also a stage- ncer, a pageant-master and a writer of brilliant comedies. ll this, Bernini's was a serious and Christian spirit, and radual reconciliation of two dissimilar elements, evident ularly in his sculpture, is indicative of the spiritual move- of the century. The purely sensuous charm of his ful work before 1622—of his *Rape of Proserpine* and *o and Daphne*—is absorbed into the expressive mysticism maturity, and this progression is not to be distinguished his personal life.

1622 Bernini had completed the monument for the Gesù Robert Bellarmine, S.J., of which the bust alone survives. irst contact with the Society of Jesus knit him eventually -long friendship with P. Oliva, its art-loving General, ndship rooted in more than artistic sympathy. Writing ears after Bernini's death, his first biographer notes that attended the devotional exercises of the fathers of the y of Jesus at Rome throughout forty years and [a cteristic tenet of Jesuit teaching] took the Holy Sacrament a week." A personal souvenir of this friendship survives illustrations to P. Oliva's sermons and scriptural com-

mentaries, published some six years before Bernini's dea
The influence of this friendship, which even Louis XIV
to invoke in tempting Bernini from Rome for a brief per
is exerted from an early date. It began with the buildin
S. Andrea al Quirinale, the church of the Jesuit noviti
and extended to include Baciccia (who worked upon
decoration under Bernini's direction) and later Andrea Po
in his work in the Gesù and S. Ignazio. Oliva may be sai
have exercised, through Bernini and Pozzo, a direc
influence not very dissimilar to the part played by the Ab
Suger in the development of the French art of the 12th cent
It worked, no doubt, by way of programme and suggest
and is felt in the pervading sense of ecstasy and in associa
the authority of the Church and the glory of the O
with that particular richness of colour and form in wh
Bernini exulted. Bernini's most famous achievements,
Baldacchino of St. Peter's (1624), the Colonnade of the P
and the Chair of St. Peter (1656–1665) are, of their na
linked with the idea of the primacy of the Roman See. T
are also marked with that spectacular appropriateness
he had learned in pageantry. The movement, colour and s
of mystery, the ingenious lighting and overrunning of s
form of the *Cathedra Petri* he used again two years later in
altar of S. Andrea al Quirinale, and his example is follo
in Pozzo's marvellous inventions. But Bernini's architec
as distinguished from his decorative effects, has a strict s
of line, though it repudiates the merely vertical and horizo
He loved the rhythm and opposition of curves, and this ch
of S. Andrea al Quirinale, with its oval plan and unexpe
disposition of porch and altar along the narrow axis, rem
the baroque church most worthy of study in Rome and
purest and most independent expression of his architect
genius.

The freedom of baroque and the treatment of its
material demanded a special tact in the painter. The pair
of S. Andrea were Carlo Maratta (1625–1713), Jacques Cou

[1] Mention may also be made, in this connection, of Bernini's charming decorat
Urban VIII's Latin poems published in quarto in 1631 by the Jesuits of the C
Romano—remarkable, as Pastor says, for the great elegance of its production.

1–1676)—the Burgundian battle-painter who entered the it Order in middle life—and most conspicuously Giovanni ista Gaulli (1639–1709), known as Il Baciccia, who painted *Death of St. Francis Xavier* over the altar and most of the r decoration. Venturi singles out his work for special se, noting the effective contrast of the altar-piece with rose-coloured marble about it and the changing twilight osphere of his pictures on the grey side walls. P. Oliva commissioned him to decorate the Gesù. Vignola (1507–) had not lived to see the completion of the church begun 568 from his strong and admirably lucid plans, and ccia's decoration did not begin till 1667. The intervening s of struggle and triumph are reflected in the resolute itecture and the later decoration. Baciccia painted the *nation of the B.V.M.* in the cupola, the *Adoration of the b* in the tribune, the *Glory of St. Ignatius* in the chapel of saint, whose altar is his tomb. But the significant work s amazing *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* on the ceiling e nave. In ceiling decoration it marks a new stage before final triumphs of Andrea Pozzo and Tiepolo. Its plan s the influence of Bernini's Chair of St. Peter and its ution reveals the profound passion for the infinite, "the it ideal of transporting the worshipper in ecstasy into very heavens themselves." Correggio's angels inhabit porous dome, but here the vault itself is abolished; and sky grow together; drawn by the Holy Name ltuous crowds take heaven by storm; good and evil absorbed or rejected by the radiance of divinity.

he passionate and copious invention of this work was assed ten years later by Andrea Pozzo's ceiling in S. zio.[1] Architect, designer, painter and writer, Andrea o was born in Trent in 1640. Educated there in the Jesuit ol, he turned from science to art and worked for some ; with Palma the Younger, Mola and Andrea Sacchi e he entered the Jesuit Order as a laybrother. Though nonly referred to as Padre, he remained a laybrother and ich he depicted himself in his animated self-portrait in

[1] The main structure of this church is the work of the Jesuit architect P. Orazio Grassi.

the Uffizi. During his novitiate at Milan he attracted attentio by a work characteristic of his talent and period, a *theatr perspectiva* prepared on the occasion of the canonisation c S. Francis Borgia. Later, after considerable work in Turi and Venice and upon Bernini's death, he was called to Rom by P. Oliva where he lived continuously from 1681 until h went in 1702 to Vienna, working there till his death in 170

Pozzo's earliest work in Rome was decoration for th Casa di S. Ignazio and for Odescalchi, the nephew of Pop Innocent, but his chief works there are the high altar and th altar of S. Ignatius in the Gesù and his great ceiling in th church of S. Ignazio. Here, as Mâle says, he erects in perspectiv a church above a church, its great colonnades losing themsel in heaven. Angels and saints are revealed in the clou with St. Ignatius in ecstasy before the Cross and Christ, whe a streaming light breaks upon four gigantic groups on th cornices representing the four continents. Almost as turbu as Baciccia, one is saved from vertigo by a stronger constr tional sense and by the use of his favourite perspective. T perspective is no doubt theatrical—the mechanics and lighting of the theatre, deriving from Vicenza and Parm enter deep into the whole art of the *seicento*—but its ener invention and concentration are unquestionable, and th ceiling remains perhaps the last word of baroque spol at the end of the century under the same influence with wh it opened.

Passing to Vienna Pozzo worked for the italianate Empe Leopold I and for Prince Liechtenstein. He painted th Theresianum and the church of the University, decorat the University Library with an Apotheosis of Science and th salon of the Liechtenstein Garten-Palast with the Labou of Hercules, painted frescoes in the church of St. Peter a designed altars and altar-pieces for the Franziskaner chur as well as for Jesuit churches at Bamberg, Trient and Venic He was perhaps the strongest foreign influence that releas a new movement in the art of Austria and stimulated i artists to their own astounding achievements in baroq and rococo decoration. His art was largely based on perspectiv

in the years between 1693 and 1698 he published his us *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*—a practical ise that was soon translated into English, French, Flemish German and in 1737 into Chinese. This was no doubt *Jesuit's Perspective* that, according to Allan Cunningham, nto the hands of Joshua Reynolds at the age of eight guided his infant pencil in making a perspective drawing s school at Plympton.

is characteristic of this expressive art of baroque that vells on the frontiers of the arts. An attempt to trace er than Plympton the influence of this perspective d lead straight into literary history through the Jesuit est in stage presentations.[1] The translation, however, ozzo's manual into Chinese makes relevant a brief allusion ng Shih-ning, the Chinese name of P. Guiseppe Castiglione, 1688–1766) and to his colleagues who exerted their artistic nventive powers in the service of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung n the interests of their mission. Three admirable pieces Castiglione were exhibited at the exhibition of Chinese n London in 1935–6 : a flower study on silk, a scroll ing lent by the Musée Guimet, and a landscape on silk by the Chinese Government. Harassed by the insatiable nds of the emperor, these artists worked at top speed P. Attiret writes distressfully to Rome : " To be chained ay by day with only Sundays and holidays free for prayer not to be able to paint anything my heart might dictate, is would urge me to return to Europe ; but I think that on is profiting by my brush and that my painting rably impresses the Emperor towards the missionaries." e references, however, have carried us far from the art of *eicento* and are part of that fascinating chapter of Chinese which begins a century earlier with the introduction of tian painting to China by P. Matteo Ricci, the first t missionary, himself a painter as well as a scientist.

he reaction against baroque led by Winckelmann set

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ey made use of many devices we regard as essentially modern : the dissolving he revolving stage, the participation of the audience in the stage action. I note connection that one of their 17th century plays *Cenodoxus* had its première in last spring in the United States.

in at the end of the eighteenth century. To his doctrinair sense of *Einfalt und Stille* its passionate intensities, expresse in colour and movement, were wholly repugnant; under hi leadership the neo-classicists drained art of everything bu outline. There are still those who consider the expressivenes of baroque exaggerated, insincere and theatrical. The answe I suggest lies in the purpose and lives of the men who directe the post-Tridentine Reformation and in the circumstance of the time and place in which this style came into being If we are unable to appreciate these motives and circumstance it is that we are ourselves insensitive and uncomprehending The further charge of worldly ostentation has the same defence though it is more deeply seated and links up ultimately to th question succinctly put by St. Bernard: *Quid aurum i sacro* ? In a remonstrance which has become a classical commo place in the history of art[1] he expressed his fear that th variety and fantasy of art—in this case of Romanesque decora tion—would distract the eyes of his brethren from the manuscripts. St. Bernard was not a puritan iconoclast, fo he was a monk considering the art proper to monastic lif The Europe of the 17th century was very unlike a Cisterci community, and the task of exposition and communication one function of art in the Church—had perforce to take a speci form in addressing itself to lives outside the cloister. Opposed to ascetic ideals the opulence of baroque appears worldl just as in contrast to the brooding solemnity of Romanesqu architecture or the spiritual recollection of Fra Angelico i energy and emotional appeal seem violent and theatrica But if one approaches baroque in its contemporary spir and free from conventional opinion, these easy oppositio lose their force. One recognises a new mysticism, a new powe ful but unmonastic spirit which does not separate itself fro the world, but pours into its crucible worldly elements to fu and transform them to the same ideal end. Regarded *s specie aeternitatis* or from some great distance, these differenc between the Abbot Suger and P. Oliva, between Fra Angeli and Rubens are little more than stylistic. C. P. Curra

[1] Migne: *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXII, col. 914–916.

ME LESSONS FOR IRISH AGRICULTURE FROM WESTERN EUROPE

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

LAND belongs to the West European group of agri-ultural countries. The main points of similarity of the ries within this group are that they all enjoy a more or milar climate, that mixed live stock farming is the stone of their agriculture and that they are mainly ted by peasant proprietors. In spite of innumerable lifferences between the methods, standards and results ning, these countries possess sufficient points of similarity ler the experience of each of value to the others. Students sh agricultural problems will therefore learn many ant lessons from a valuable survey of agricultural con- in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland ermany entitled *Food Production in Western Europe*,[1] is the result of an inquiry organized by Lord Astor and Seebohm Rowntree and carried out by Mr. P. Lamartine This inquiry was supplemental to earlier investigations ritish agricultural problems, the results of which were ied in two volumes entitled respectively *The Agricultural ia*[2] and *British Agriculture*[3]. Students of comparative ons will also derive profit from a similar investigation ted by Miss Doreen Warriner entitled *The Economics sant Farming*[4]. Those various studies refer, of course, e-time and take no notice of war-time events. When is restored the conditions which they describe will become relevant, as agriculture, more than any other y, is based on fundamental physical realities and capable changed by political intervention only within restricted

ertheless politics have played a large part in recent ural developments in Europe. The first question

[1] mans, 1940, 15s.
[2] P. S. King, 1935.
[3] mans, 1938.
[4] Oxford University Press, 1939.

investigated by Mr. Yates is whether the agricultural poli pursued in the six countries included in his survey have b beneficial to the national welfare. The results of this st of the past are the foundation of the discussion regard the planning of agriculture in the future. Planning has ente economic life in recent years in a growing degree, and i inevitable that agriculture, like every other industry, sho be the subject of much conscious regulation. During nineteenth century, European farmers enjoyed the advanta of an expanding market and a considerable degree of nat protection from overseas competition. The slowing dow the rate of population-growth and the revolution in trans have put an end to these favourable conditions. The tend towards public intervention in agriculture was greatly ac rated by the world depression, and, during the last ten y governments everywhere have been pursuing mutua destructive policies designed to assist their own farmer the expense of others. In the food-importing countries im were generally restricted, with the result that the f exporting countries had to reorganize their productio order to conform to reduced possibilities of export. In a when planning is inevitable, it is most important that pla should be on the right lines. In order to plan on the right it is essential that the underlying policy should be sound that the means of the plan should be consistent with aims of the policy.

A review of the measures undertaken to meet the difficu of the years since the onset of the depression in 1929 rev no such soundness of policy or consistence of means ends. It is sufficient, on this subject, to quote, with comp agreement, the following paragraph from Mr. Yates's boo

> Among all the multifarious measures which have been devise the farming communities, it is difficult, on the surface at any to find evidence of any set purpose. Nowhere, apparently, has cultural policy been framed in accordance with any preconceived of the part it should play in the national economy as a whole. Germans, it is true, had an ideology of '*Blut und Boden*,' and the sentiments, though less picturesquely defined, can be found in Swi land and France. But not even in these countries have agricul

s been designed primarily to further such theories; they have oncerned to meet the practical difficulties of the moment, with ng price falls, dumping, over-production, and so forth. They been specific policies to deal with specific situations; they have entative, piecemeal, unco-ordinated; interference in one sphere g to and necessitating interference in another. The various of organization set up conform to no single pattern, for each was d to meet the special needs of a particular branch of farming in a ular country at a particular time.

spite of the lack of reason and consistency in much has been done to assist farmers in the years since the ssion, certain main objectives can be discerned in the of measures that have been adopted. Governments were nxious to safeguard the position of their producers of to avoid, while doing so, inflicting too great a burden nsumers; and to promote agricultural efficiency and welfare. Food producers had to be saved from the quence of an inrush of cheap foodstuffs from overseas, a collapse of prices and from the embarrassment of the roduction of certain commodities. In the face of these ers it was considered desirable to improve producers' s above the market level. One method adopted was that nport restriction by tariffs or quotas, which had the ental advantage of improving the balance of trade and of ncing the fashionable cause of self-sufficiency. The s of the widespread adoption of such methods were a s shrinkage in the volume of world trade, great difficulty in aining exports, the negotiation of bilateral agreements he deterioration of international relations. The cost of for consumers in the countries imposing the restriction d to rise.

any of these difficulties were avoided by the second od adopted for supporting prices, namely the subsidy, paid y taxation or by a levy on particular commodities. The le about this procedure is that it may be very costly. axpayers' resources are not unlimited, and a levy on mers has the effect of contracting the demand at a time it is desirable that it should be expanded. It is very lt to be sure that the subsidy is not intercepted by

middlemen or passed on to landlords. Moreover it is alm impossible to avoid subsidising the inefficient or high-c farmer, and thus raising the price of the product undu Many agricultural products form the raw material of furth agricultural production, and claims may arise for subsidizi more and more crops until the whole agricultural price le becomes artificial. The temptation for the subsidized arti to be overproduced sometimes leads to the necessity of t volume of production being controlled. This quantitati regulation of production is the third method of supporti prices. While superior in some aspects to the granting o subsidy, this method possesses many difficulties. The d tribution of producers' quotas usually gives rise to dissa faction and sometimes to injustice. Inefficient producers encouraged at the expense of their more efficient neighbo When the scheme proceeds to the length of paying farm for the non-production of a crop, the *reductio ad absurd* of restrictionism is reached and protectionism is seen in fullest glory.

It is the fear of raising the cost of living beyon reasonable point that puts a limit to these price-suppor policies. In all cases, consumers have to pay more for t food, and in addition, when there is a subsidy, they may ha to pay increased taxes. Efforts have been made to prev retail prices from rising proportionately to wholesale, usua by attempts to reduce distributors' margins. The result these efforts has generally been disappointing, largely beca the cost of marketing in recent times has been raised by t disorderly habits and unreasonable demands of consum and the profits of middlemen have been popularly ov estimated. Marketing boards have in some cases raised inst of reducing marketing costs. In some countries a rigid cont of all prices from the producer to the consumer has b imposed, together with the legal regulation of wages and ot incomes. Such regimentation requires either the natio discipline accepted in war-time or the political machin of a totalitarian State; it is not generally feasible in de cratic countries in peace-time.

ıe profits of farmers can be maintained without a rise
r price of what they produce, if their efficiency is increased
'ir cost of production otherwise reduced. Subsidies on
vements in farming technique have been widely adopted.
ıltural research stations and educational and advisory
es have been set up in every country. Subsidies have
been provided for specific purposes which have been
ılered desirable—for example, for re-arrangement of
ıgs, land drainage, ploughing up grassland and the
vement of live-stock. Fertilizers and other raw materials
been supplied at favourable rates and marketing schemes
been inaugurated and assisted. Financial relief has been
ed by the writing down of debts and by the adjustment
ıer fixed outgoings and taxes. All these measures involve
xpenditure of public money, and the resulting improve-
in productive efficiency is in most cases small and in all
tardy.

r. Yates's verdict on the agricultural policies of recent
is as follows :—

> e principal agricultural policies which have been pursued in
> years have in the main achieved their immediate objective of
> ıg assistance to food producers and of increasing production ;
> heless from other points of view it cannot be said that they
> functioned entirely satisfactorily. Often they have had a pre-
> ıl effect on the consuming public and sometimes also on national
> sts in wider spheres. In part this is because governments are
> mateurs in the art of economic organization ; it is their inex-
> ce in the new tasks of regulation and control which accounts
> ıny of the muddles and mistakes. In the main, however, the
> lties have arisen because the underlying purpose has been to
> ıin an entirely artificial state of affairs. Not merely the
> onally protectionist countries but all those here reviewed have in
> nt degrees tried to isolate their farming systems from outside
> ıces and to stimulate production by means of artificially
> ıined prices. Faced with a world of political and economic
> ainties, they have desired to preserve large agricultural popula-
> as a guarantee of social stability and have felt it necessary to
> their frontiers not only with guns but with every kind of obstacle
> le. The negation of common sense which hitherto prevailed in
> few countries is now found in all. It has become so dangerous
> e alone to be wise that all nations prefer foolishness.

When we pass from the problems of the past to those
the future, we are immediately faced with the question of t
aim of agricultural policy. A country's agricultural resour
can be developed in the interest of numerous ends which a
to a large extent mutually inconsistent, and the main cau
of disagreement regarding agricultural policy is that peo
are not agreed about what end they desire that policy to atta
One aim of policy is the greatest possible degree of se
sufficiency in food, another the provision of the greate
amount of employment on the land, still another the raisi
of the standard of living of farmers and farm labourers, wh
finally the utmost increase of productive efficiency in farmi
may be the objective desired. The central problem of agri
tural economics is that all these aims cannot be simultaneou
pursued with success, and that every advance in one direct
involves a retreat in others. Before concrete measures a
proposed or adopted, it must be clear which of the al
objectives such measures are designed to attain, and it n
be clearly realised that the attainment of one necessita
to some extent at least, the sacrifice of the others. The de
to have it both ways, to enjoy gains without incurring los
is responsible for much of the muddlement that prevails
agricultural policies.

In recent years self-sufficiency in food has been wid
accepted as something worth having at almost any pri
Before the last war, the benefits of the international divisi
of labour were generally recognized and Europe import
large quantities of food from overseas, thereby securing
rise in the European standard of living. The war and the pos
war depression led to the adoption of a certain amount
self-sufficiency, or autarky, as it came to be called, in sever
countries, but the volume of international exchange of foo
stuffs in the world as a whole continued to expand. Sin
the depression of 1929, autarkic policies have been adopt
everywhere with the objects of preserving farmers fro
external competition, of giving employment on the land,
improving the balance of payments and, in some cases,
preparing for war. In spite of all that has been done and

sacrifices that have had to be borne by urban consumers, rn Europe has not succeeded in becoming completely fficient. Great Britain, Belgium, France and Germany ntinue to import food, and even countries like Denmark lire that produce an export surplus do so only because an import feeding stuffs.

riously enough the two countries that have succeeded sing to the highest point the standard of living for their ltural and urban populations are Great Britain and ark. At first sight it would appear that these countries ached this result by completely different roads. Great n has the smallest percentage of its population engaged iculture in Western Europe, while Denmark has (with ception of Éire) the largest. Yet the underlying economic were similar. Both countries pursued free trade policies on international exchange of goods and international on of labour; by specializing in particular kinds of mic activity both attained a high degree of prosperity; t increased, commodities were bought in the cheapest t, and the standard of living of all classes improved. word, both countries exploited their natural advantages. it cannot be denied that the circumstances of war or reat of war or of the aftermath of a great depression render it expedient for countries to become more self- ent in food supply, it is equally undeniable that, in times ace and normal economic prosperity, autarky is not a aim of agricultural policy. Such a policy lowers the ard of living in the countries which adopt it, while for od-exporting countries it spells ruin.

ie second aim of agricultural policy that we have to ne is that of providing employment on the land. It is lf-evident that the giving of employment is in itself a ble end, since the reduction rather than the increase of n effort would appear to be the true test of economic ss. It is no doubt undesirable that any factors of ction should suffer from involuntary unemployment, he prevention or relief of such a condition is a generally ted end of economic policy to-day. The provision of

employment in general is, however, a very different thing
increasing the numbers employed in any particular indust
branch of production, especially in an industry which confo
as agriculture does, to the law of diminishing returns. It
be remembered that the last century has witnessed a
agricultural revolution, which is demonstrated, amongst o
ways, by the relation between the labour employed and
output obtained. In Great Britain, France, Germany, Belg
and Switzerland the farm population has declined while
agricultural output has increased, and in Denmark and Holl
although numbers engaged in agriculture have increa
output has increased far more. What this means is that t
has been an increase in the output per head of workers eng
in agriculture, and it is this increase in productivity that
enabled the rural standard of living to rise. Beyond a cer
point any increase in the density of the farming populatio
accompanied by a reduction in the average productivity
head, and this must lead to a fall in the standard of li
Generally speaking progress in any industry is registered
a reduction in the numbers employed in relation to the vo
of production. Is there any reason why agriculture sh
be an exception to this rule ?

Some people would answer this question in the affirma
Agriculture, they would say, is more than a mere occupa
It is a mode of life and there is a certain virtue in wor
the land. Urbanization has proceeded too far and too
and there is something to be said for keeping large num
employed on the soil even if the standard of living is not
high. In some countries views of this kind have develo
into a kind of peasant-worship. It is difficult, however
agree that they possess any rational basis. Modern deve
ments in power and transport have reduced the barrier betw
town and country. Most industries to-day can be successf
carried on in a rural environment, and the workers eve
urban industries can have access to country occupations
enjoyments. The suggestion that the high rural birthra
necessary to arrest the threatened decline in populatio
refuted by the fact that the birth rate of agricultural wor

ling as rapidly as that of many other classes. The state- that the health of agricultural workers is better than of industrial workers may have been true in the past, t is certainly not true at the present day. Improvements alth services have been more widely organized in urban in rural areas, and the advantage of environment during ing hours which the farm worker enjoys does not offset lisadvantages which he suffers in respect of income, diet, ing and insufficient medical attention. The public and l benefits of agriculture rest on the most questionable dations, and the case for keeping up the numbers engaged arming above the optimum point dictated by normal omic measurements is not proven.

The third commonly accepted objective of agricultural y is to raise the standard of living of the agricultural er and, in particular, to reduce the difference between standard and that of urban workers. That such a difference s is unquestionable. Even when full allowance is made uch perquisites as free dwelling houses and cheap food and ood, the remuneration of labour employed in agriculture erywhere decidedly lower than that of other occupations. difference is the reflection of the underlying conditions emand for and supply of foodstuffs, and it is very difficult ny government measures to remedy it, except by artificial s which would raise the cost of living unduly or by avagant subsidies which would harass the taxpayer. The and for food is exceptionally inelastic and insensitive to ctions in price, while the supply of agricultural labour so inelastic and immobile in the face of changing con- ns. When holdings are small, the supply of labour is not too frozen but too plentiful as well. The reason why cultural wages are low is that the productivity of the age worker is low, partly because of the prevailing litions of demand and supply and partly because of the ive inefficiency of the individual worker. One thing which State can do to raise the standard of living on the land increase the efficiency of farmers and labourers.

The attempted improvement of efficiency has formed

part of the agricultural policy of every country. At the prese time there is taking place a revolution in agricultural techniq which may prove as far-reaching in its consequences as t introduction of clover and turnips in the eighteenth centu Recent developments in the field of agro-biology offer t possibilities of an enormous expansion in output at the co of far less labour. In order that farmers should be able participate in these new methods an extensive system research, education and advice is necessary. Assuming th these new discoveries put present day methods of farming o of date, the question arises whether the necessary adjustmen from the old system to the new can be carried out while farm remain as small as they are in the greater part of Weste Europe. Changes of the magnitude suggested may require degree of adaptation and decision which is not to be found a scattered population of small peasant farmers. Moreov many of the new methods involve the use of machinery whi can be profitably employed only on larger farms. The po sibilities of co-operation should not be overlooked; bu even when all that co-operation can do has been done, t problem of adjusting an old type of farm to a new type farming will always present difficulties. This is anoth reminder of the ever-present inconsistency between t different aims of agricultural policy. The advantages of se sufficiency, of a large rural population, of a high standa of living for farmers depending upon an increase of efficien cannot be realized simultaneously.

Which of these ends should be preferred? Mr. Yat poses the question: "How can agriculture be so regulat and organized as best to serve the public interest in a mo consciously planned future?" This is a subject which shou engage the attention of every student of public affairs w looks forward to the construction of a better Europe after t war. If there is no hope of a real and enduring peace wi political and economic security guaranteed for years ahe there is no hope for prosperity in agriculture or in any oth industry. From the economic point of view, war and t preparation for war constitute the supreme folly. Econom

ress consists in the building up of an increasingly healthy
appy growing population and of the cumulative expansion
e output of goods and services of all kind. In war the
y of nations is directed to the destruction of men and of
h, and investment is directed to produce the instruments
at destruction. If one did not cling to a desperate hope
such conditions would not be repeated after the con-
n of the present war, there would be no point in discussing
ıture of agriculture. We must assume that, at some date
ıe future, the conditions of economic reconstruction
revail and that Europe can look forward to a long period
armament and peace.

ı such happy circumstances, the two essential features
onomic progress will be the removal of many of the
cles to the international movement of goods, labour and
al, and the solution of the problems of cyclical and
ic unemployment. It would take us far beyond the
ls of the subject of this paper to discuss the manner in
ı these indispensable conditions of economic reconstruction
be attained. The widening of the area of inter-local
nge could be achieved by a general lowering of tariffs,
ormation of low tariff groups, the conclusion of multi-
l trade agreements, the federation of groups of nations,
e establishment of larger national units. The solution
employment should not defy the ingenuity of statesmen
new era of peace. No subject has received more scientific
on the part of economists, among whom there is more
ment on the problem than is popularly believed. Given
tions of political and economic security and, above all,
ernational goodwill, there is no reason to despair of both
al and chronic unemployment being considerably reduced
judicious policy of the encouragement of private enter-
combined with extensive public investment.

ssuming that such conditions could be realized, the aims
lf-sufficiency and of maximising employment on the
would lose most of their attractiveness. The inhibitions
d by the fear of war and of adding to the volume of
ployment would disappear, and it would become possible

to plan agricultural policy on rational lines. Mr. Yates sugge that, in a world where nations neither had to prepare war nor felt obliged to preserve large agricultural populatio the aims of agricultural policy would be threefold: fir the nation's food-supply should be provided as cheaply possible; second, production should be gradually concentrat on larger farms; and, third, modern agricultural scien should be thoroughly applied to farming practice. The attai ment of the first aim would involve the international divisi of labour and the exploitation to the full of the natural resour of every locality. Nobody suggests that complete free tra should be restored. On the contrary, a good deal of planni and control of production in the interest of price stability a the prevention of over-production is quite consistent with extreme degree of local specialization. International agreeme in respect of crops such as wheat and rubber could be u to minimize fluctuations of production and prices. The c centration of production on larger farms would reduce real cost of agricultural production. It is a commonplac agricultural economics that, up to a certain point, the cos production varies inversely with the size of the farm and t small farms do not yield the best return to the labour emplo Modern agricultural science has made great advance increasing the yield of crops, in improving the quality of stock, in animal nutrition and in labour-saving devices. full realization of these improvements requires that fa should be reasonably large.

The pursuit of an agricultural policy based on these thr fold aims would enable the present output of food to be ma tained on less land and with less labour. The inferior l could be utilized for forestry, which would give rural empl ment to part of the labour displaced. In addition, there wo have to be a considerable transfer of labour to the second and tertiary industries. Such a redistribution of labour av from the primary industries is a universal feature of econo progress and is essential if the gap between the agricult and the urban standard of living is to be bridged. The relativ low standard of living of agricultural workers is the result

individual productivity, of the smallness of farms and of a ral immobility. The first and second of those causes d be weakened by increasing the efficiency of production by the enlarging of farms, but the mobility of rural labour be increased. Such an increase would result from the val of obstacles to international movement and from reduction of urban unemployment, which we have already ulated as the essential conditions of agricultural prosperity. an any lessons be drawn for our own country from the rience of the other countries of Western Europe ? Éire is more dependent on agriculture for its livelihood than nark, and there is no country in which a wise agricultural y is so necessary and an unwise agricultural policy so trous. Assuming that peace were restored, to what nt, it may be asked, could Éire follow the policies outlined e. The aim of securing the cheapest food supply for the uming public would necessitate the abandonment of many ne existing protective measures, whose only justification e emergency conditions of the recent period of depression war. Broadly stated, food for man and beast can be most ply obtained if the natural advantages of the country's climate and geographical position are exploited to the and the commodities so produced exported in exchange other foodstuffs produced more cheaply elsewhere. At ame time every effort should be made to produce the maxi- quantity of fodder for live stock. And here the example enmark should act as a headline to follow. The Danes succeeded, by means of good seed and fertilizers and the of machinery, in raising the yield and lowering the costs roduction of their principal fodder crops, and have thus ered possible the great increase in the live stock population. an intensive cultivation of fodder crops eases the pressure ne balance of payments and gives abundant rural employ- . At the same time, imports of stock feed should also be y permitted, as has always been the case in Denmark. he pursuit of the second aim of agricultural policy, ely the concentration of production on larger farms, will prove capable of realization in Éire, where any attempt

to consolidate holdings would not be possible. The creation o further small holdings should however be discontinued. Th size of farms must be accepted as part of the *data* of th agricultural problem in Ireland and the best use made o this distribution of land. In these circumstances productio must be directed into those channels in which the disadvantage of small scale operation are least conspicuous, and cooperativ methods of processing and marketing should be encouraged The extension of cooperation will render easier the pursuit o the third aim of policy, namely the application of moder science to farming practice. In other countries the cooperativ movement has done much to increase agricultural efficienc In addition, the educational activities of the Department Agriculture will need to be pursued with vigour. Perhap in the long run, general education is more important tha technical in producing a country of good farmers, and th whole position of Irish education will require review, an perhaps revision, if our farmers are to hold their own in th post-war period of renewed competition.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the easy conditio of the nineteenth century have disappeared. During th wonderful century of progress, marked by a rapid growth o population and industry, European farmers enjoyed an eve expanding market in which they possessed a considerab degree of natural protection. The circumstances to-da are far less favourable. Populations are everywhere tendi to become stationary or to fall, while modern methods o transport and refrigeration have widened the area of com petition. In the period of expanding markets, agricultu could be left to take care of itself, but in the future the mo careful planning will be necessary, especially in exportin countries. The economic problems of a downward adjustmen are much more difficult than those of an upward one. Mor over, Éire may find itself in an enfeebled condition, if th result of the war is to reduce substantially the value of i external assets and the amount of its income from investmen abroad. If this should unhappily take place, the country w experience a serious decline in its standard of living unle

ncome from agricultural exports can be correspondingly ased. The continued progress of the export trade depends rtunately only partly on circumstances within our own rol. By means of the methods already discussed it may be ble to reduce our costs of production and to establish factory conditions of the supply of farm products. The nd for those products, however, will be influenced mainly e degree of industrial prosperity (to say nothing of political will) in other countries.

he fact is that the economic progress of the world is ly dependent upon the policies pursued by a small number werful, industrial, and mainly creditor countries. It is mbitions and jealousies of these great powers that have ed the world into war, and it is upon their statesmanship vision that the world depends for an enduring peace. h a peace can be secured, the responsibility of preventing ps and chronic unemployment will rest on these same tries. So long as prosperity and progress prevail in the industrial agglomerations, agricultural depressions will voided, always provided that a reasonable amount of national planning to avoid over-production is achieved. n the other hand, the leading industrial countries pursue es which lead to slumps and unemployment, the smaller ultural nations will be as powerless to maintain their erity in peace time as they have been to maintain their ality in the present war.

George O'Brien

THE RISE AND FALL OF CATHOLIC SWEDEN

BY REV. ANDREW BECK, A.A.

IN the *Germania*, written towards the close of the fi century, Tacitus speaks of the Swedes as an honoural and warlike race, remarkable for their skill in handling th double-prowed seagoing ships. Like the other Scandinavi peoples they were pagans, having a remarkable mythol and a highly developed culture of their own. They worshipp a variety of gods of which the chief were Odin, Thor a Freyr. Freyr was the god of Nature under whose protecti the crops flourished and peace reigned secure. Thor the g of Strength, the Maker of Lightning, the Wielder of t Hammer whose clang was the thunderstroke, was most wid worshipped in a race where deeds of endurance and fortit ranked high; but it was Odin who was the highest divi the god of Battle and also the god of Wisdom. Besides th there were great numbers of local deities and a widespr belief in giants and fairies, all of which lasted long into Christian era and became curiously confused with Christi practice and tradition. The centre of social organization w the war-leader or king who also offered sacrifices to the go for there seems to have been no special priestly order. Bl sacrifices were frequent, offered at first in sacred groves the open air and later in temples built to the honour of t gods. All manner of beasts were offered including catt horses and dogs, while human sacrifices were not unknow Adam of Bremen, writing in the eleventh century, spea of the great equinoctial feast which occurred at Uppsala eve nine years, when on each of nine consecutive days a sacrif of every kind of male, including men, was made. The bod of the victims were hung together in the sacred grove. *etiam canes et equi pendent cum hominibus.*

There is a vague tradition that Christianity was fi preached in Sweden by the Apostle St. Philip who, in an obsc legend, is said to have slain a dragon in the temple of Uppsa

Viking raids of the ninth century are more solidly historical, t is probable that some few of these raiders were converted e Gospel through the Christian slaves they captured and gh coming into contact with Christianity in the lands set out to ravage. They were a mere handful of individuals ver, converted almost by accident; and it was not until ssionary expedition set foot in the country itself that a tian community was founded. This was the work of nscar, a monk from the Abbey of Corbie in Westphalia, nonly known as the Apostle of Denmark. He was sent weden by the Emperor Louis the Pious in 830, and led the first Christian colony on the island of Birka, Lake Mälar, not far from the present Stockholm. He ined eighteen months, but his work was not followed nd the people relapsed into paganism.[1] It was nearly hundred years later, at the beginning of the eleventh ry, that the real evangelization of Sweden began, and ime the work was carried out largely by English mission-

The medieval Swedish Church in fact owed a great to Englishmen, not only as missionaries but as diocesan ps who helped to build up the organization of the Church. siastical terminology was borrowed from England; there a marked English influence on early medieval church tecture; and in the early calendars there are great bers of English and Irish saints. It was an Englishman better known to us as Pope Adrian IV, who gave the ish Church its hierarchy and its attachment to Rome.[2] issionary zeal was one of the characteristics of the Anglo- n Church. We are accustomed to think of the names of id, Willibrord and Boniface and their work in Europe, here were also hosts of lesser-known men who helped to gelize Norway in the tenth century and Sweden in the nth. The stories of their lives are obscure, and the accounts

[1] Charles H. Robinson: *Anskar: The Apostle of the North* (London, 1921); F. de : *Saint Anschaire* (Louvain, 1930); and the articles by Professor L. Bril, "Les s Temps du Christianisme en Suède" in *La Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, , Avril, Juillet, 1911.

[2] ie question is fully treated, with a wealth of references, by Dr. C. J. A. Oppermann *English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland* (S.P.C.K. 1937). See also *The Monastic n England* by Dom David Knowles (Cambridge University Press, 1940, pp. 67–10 notes that Oppermann "should be used with caution."

of their activities sometimes conflicting; but of the enormo value of their work there can be no question. The greate of these names is that of St. Sigfrid, a name that we no associate with Germany in a less evangelical connection a a saint whom German historians have tried to claim as the own. There is no doubt, however, that he was an Englishma possibly a priest of York, though Glastonbury has some cla to be considered as his place of origin.[1] He was taken ba to Norway by the great Olav Trygvessön, the ravager eastern England, who was converted to Christianity wh in that country and confirmed by St. Elphege of Winches at Andover in 994. Olav believed in the policy of *compe intrare* and, on returning to Norway, obliged all his subje to embrace the Christian faith. He was murdered by the Da in 1012, but meanwhile Sigfrid had gone on into Swed Here he was invited to the court of Olav Skötkonung, wh he baptised at Husaby in 1008. A curious legend atta to the story of king Olav's conversion. Apparently Si had already established a missionary centre at Växjö when he went to join the king, he left there three help possibly his nephews Unaman, Sunaman and Vinaman. Du his absence they were attacked and murdered by pag Their heads were cut off and thrown into a lake, but w by a miracle recovered by the saint, to whom they were a to speak so as to direct him to the spot where they were lyi The story is perpetuated in the Chapter seal of the See Växjö, which shows the three severed heads held over a sh of water. Sigfrid refused to allow the murderers to be punishe but it was on the property granted to him in compensati by the king that he laid the foundations of the first Swedi See, that of Växjö whose Cathedral is still dedicated to hi He died about 1068, was perhaps canonized by Pope Adri IV in the following century, and was quickly established the Apostle of Sweden.[2]

[1] Oppermann *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff. See also, for some of the problems connected with lives of these saints, "English Hagiology" by Edmund Bishop in *The Dublin Rev* January 1885, pp. 123–154. Cf. S. Wordsworth: *The National Church of Sweden*, 71–81.

[2] Sigfrid and his English companions enjoyed great liturgical popularity in Sc dinavia. A number of medieval hymns in their honour are printed in Fr. G. M. Dre

gfrid's work was continued by other Englishmen, notably red, St. Botvid, St. Eskil and St. David, of whom the wo suffered martyrdom in the pagan reaction which King Inge from his throne in 1080. The legend of St. is not quite in the accepted vein. Some of his flock had l into paganism and were sacrificing to the gods. The determined to stop them and besought God to help him s task. The divine answer was a fierce storm which hrew the altar set up to the heathen deity. The pagan s, however, instead of being awestricken and converted, infuriated at this interference with their rites, and one m, seizing an axe, clove in the head of the saint with a y blow. His prostrate body was then stoned by the ning worshippers. After his death, however, miracles to be worked through his relics, and he was soon ated in Sweden as a saint and martyr. The legend l its place in the liturgy in his honour and is enshrined, stance, in the Sequence of a Mass taken from a 15th ry Missal, of which the following are the last three verses :

Dum pagana gens honorat
Deos, Deum Praesul orat
Signum dari coelitus :
Mox nix, grando descendentes,
Deos, aras subvertentes,
Destruxerunt penitus.

Hostes sternit vis Sampsonis,
Lampas lucet Gedeonis
Dum Praesul occiditur :
Infideles cuncti credunt
Aegri clamant et accedunt
Quibus salus redditur.

Hymnica Medii Aevi, Vol. 42. The following are two verses from a fifteenth hymn in which the saint is said to be of English royal blood :

Hic Anglicis natalibus
Est ortus sed nobilibus ;
Testatur id prosapia
Anglorum regum regia.

Hic Anglicus angelicus
Qui missus nobis coelitus
Nos jungat suis precibus
Angelorum apicibus.

Nos aegrotos prece sana,
Quos impugnat caro vana,
Mundus et daemonia :
Pater, tutor, dux Sueorum,
Nos concives fac sanctorum
In superna curia.[1]

After Inge's restoration in 1082 the Church in Swe flourished and spread rapidly. It was the age of Gregory and of the strengthening of centralized Papal authority. Europe the Church began to be organized along natio lines and the local churches more strongly united to the Papa In 1103 an Archbishopric of Lund was set up for Denm thus freeing the province from the control of the Ger See of Hamburg-Bremen and bringing it under closer Pa supervision. Lund was given jurisdiction over the chur of Norway and Sweden, but in 1152 Pope Eugenius III dec to give these churches more independent status, and he Nicholas Breakspeare, the Englishman from Langley in H fordshire, then Cardinal Bishop of Albano, to carry out change. Nicholas held a great synod at Linköping, where introduced the English custom of paying Peter's Pen *Roma skat*, as it was called—and sanctioned the organizat of the Swedish dioceses. But when it came to the appointm of a metropolitan see, the rival claims of Uppsala, Linköp and Skara proved so insurmountable that Nicholas refused decide between them and returned to Rome, leaving pallium in the care of Eskil, Archbishop of Lund.[2] When 1164 Uppsala was finally chosen, it had to recognize primacy of Lund, a situation which continued, despite Swed protests, until the Reformation. The first Archbishop Uppsala, a Cistercian monk named Stephen from the monast of Alvastra, was another Englishman to whom the Swed Church was indebted. He was consecrated in 1164 at S where Pope Alexander III was in exile. The other Swed

[1] H. A. Daniel : *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, T. II, p. 214.

[2] For a fuller account of Breakspeare's mission see Horace K. Mann : *Nicholas Br spear* (London 1914) and Edith M. Almedingen : *The English Pope* (*Adrian* London 1925.

ses were Linköping, Skara, Västeras, Strängnäs, Växjö Abo (Finland).

Before he left Sweden, Nicholas consecrated Henry the ishman who was later to become St. Henry of Uppsala, Apostle of the Finns. About this time too Erik Jedvardson to the throne of Sweden, and his death provided Sweden a strong centralizing influence, a national saint. In 1160 as attacked in Uppsala by a Danish force. He was at Mass n his enemies appeared, but refused to move until the Mass ended. He then went forth to fight, and was slain by a ish leader, Magnus Henrikson. Canonized by popular im, he ranks with the Englishman St. Sigfrid as the patron of Sweden.

n 1200 the Church received its first great privilege, a ter from King Sverker the Younger (1196-1210) granting lom from taxation to all Church lands and exemption of clergy from the jurisdiction of the royal courts. In 1250 pal bull took the right of electing their bishops out of the ls of the people and gave it to the Cathedral chapters. 281 King Magnus, a ruler who founded many churches and asteries, ratified the exemption of the clergy from the nent of taxes, and so the foundations were laid of the vast essions, the lust for which among the nobility was to be the cause of the obliteration of the Church in the sixteenth ury. During these later Middle Ages a number of religious rs established themselves in Sweden, and their houses me centres of civilization and culture. The Cistercians ded the first monastery at Alvastra in 1144. They spread kly and founded a number of nunneries. Later on the s, Dominicans and Franciscans, flourished. The Carmelites a single house at Orebro, and the Carthusians one at efred. The most notable Swedish foundation was, of se, that of the Order of the Most Holy Saviour, or the ettines, established at Vadstena in 1369, at a time when seeds of disruption were already being sown.

Norway, Sweden and Denmark have much in common, they had kept apart till, in the fourteenth century, an mpt was made to unite them under one crown. Queen

Margaret, the daughter of a Danish king and the widow of a Norwegian, was elected Regent of Sweden in 1389; and in 1397 the union of the three kingdoms was achieved when her grand-nephew Erik of Pomerania was crowned with the triple crown at Kalmar. The union was purely a dynastic measure, and each country retained its own laws and customs. The consequences, however, were disastrous, not only for the three kingdoms but also, eventually, for the Church. Since the royal power was elective and not hereditary, feuds between the great houses were inevitable, and the fifteenth century passed in a welter of intrigue and bloodshed, centring round resistance to autocracy and the domination of Denmark. Civil war decimated the nobility and prepared the way, much as our own Wars of the Roses did, for the emergence of a new despotic monarchy. Politics degenerated into a "gamble for the crown and the realm of Sweden," and in the gamble it was the Church and Church lands which were the final stake. "Danish threats and attacks, negotiations, armistices, broken promises and renewed warfare followed each other in quick succession." Especially tragic was the feud between the families of Trolle and Sture. Svant Sture, who had been Protector of Sweden and had led the national resistance against Denmark, died in 1511. A rival party among the nobles chose Erik Trolle as Protector of the kingdom and decided to seek union with Denmark. The nationalist opposition to such a betrayal, supported by Hemming Gadd, Bishop of Linköping, rallied round the former Protector's son Sten Sture, who was chosen to fill his father's place. When Erik Trolle died, the leadership of his party fell to his son Gustav, who made the momentous decision to call in King Christian II of Denmark and to invite him to accept the crown of Sweden. Christian, who had come to the throne of Denmark in 1513, desired nothing better, and war flared out again, the one side supporting the idea of the ancient union of Kalmar, the other fighting for national independence. In 1515, on the understanding that he would swear allegiance to Sten Sture, Gustav Trolle was elected Archbishop of Uppsala and was consecrated in Rome. He was a great defender of aristocratic privilege

and the temporal independence of the Church, but his election was a misfortune for the Church, for he was a man with no spiritual depth. On his return from Rome he sided with the Danish king and, in the eyes of the Sture party, was thus branded as a traitor—" the Judas Iscariot of Swedish history " he has been called. The nationalists were at first successful, and in 1517 the Archbishop, accused of treason, was deposed by the Swedish assembly, the Riksdag, at Stockholm. This was denounced by the Danish party as an intrusion of the secular power in a spiritual matter, and, in the event, it proved the first step on the way to rupture with Rome. It spoilt too what might have been a very good cause; and its most important result was the alienation of Papal sympathy.

Trolle, in Denmark and at Rome, fought back with spirit. He persuaded Pope Leo X to support him and to sanction the excommunication of Sten Sture. When the latter was killed in battle in 1520 a Danish victory was assured; and in September 1520 Christian II entered Stockholm, having promised an amnesty. Almost at once there followed the infamous massacre of Swedish nobles and patriots known as the Stockholm Bloodbath (November 8, 1520), the story or fable of which has played almost as great a part in turning Swedish national sentiment against Rome as have in England the fires of Smithfield or the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Christian cunningly used his position as defender of orthodoxy against the body of men who had deposed the Archbishop. Pretending to act with apostolic authority, he had his enemies pronounced heretics and executed in cold blood, including the Bishops of Strängnäs and Skara and about ninety of the nobility.[1] His right-hand man, Didrik Slagheck, was then given the See of Skara and appointed Regent of Sweden, with Gustav Trolle as his chief assistant. The national movement seemed completely broken, while under the new Lutheran Danish king there was little hope for the Church.

[1] The Bishop of Linköping, Hans Brask, managed by his foresight to save himself. When in 1517 he set his seal to the act by which Trolle was deposed, he prudently slipped a strip of paper under the seal, on which was written: " To this I am compelled and driven." When Trolle produced the document at Stockholm and demanded the condemnation of all who had signed or sealed it, Brask was able to disclose this evidence of coercion and so save himself.

In fact, however, the union of Kalmar was drowned in the Bloodbath of Stockholm. In the crisis Swedish nationalism found its saviour, the man who was to drive out the Danes, but was also to destroy Catholicism in the kingdom and to lay the foundations of the long anti-Catholic tradition of modern Sweden. Gustav Eriksson is better known from his family coat of arms as Gustav Vasa—or Wasa—a name rendered more appropriate than ever to our generation. It means a sheaf, having possibly some connection with *fasces*; and Gustav Vasa may well be considered the first fascist or totalitarian monarch in Europe. While the Empire was still undecided about its religious future, while Henry VIII was as yet no more than mildly interested in the attractive vivacity of Anne Boleyn, he achieved in Sweden the new secular despotism and the complete subjugation of the Church.

Vasa had fought under Sten Sture against the Danes in 1518 and had been taken as a hostage by Christian to Denmark, whence he had escaped in 1520. He had tried to rouse the south of Sweden against the Danish invader without success, and after the Stockholm massacre, in which his father and brother-in-law had been beheaded, he turned to the north to the peasants of the Dalecarlia where the Swedish nationalist movement was strongest. In 1521 the Dalecarlians chose him as their leader. In 1523 the Danes were driven out, and on June 6 at Strängnäs a Riksdag elected him King of Sweden. The Church meanwhile was in a bad way. Besides the Sees already vacant three more were now without a bishop. For the second time Gustav Trolle had, with the defeat of the Danes, been driven from the See of Uppsala, while the bishops of Skara and Strängnäs had been murdered at Stockholm. There were in fact only two Sees with their lawful occupants—Linköping, with Hans Brask the astute survivor of the Stockholm Bloodbath and the only member of the hierarchy who had any strength of character or made any real attempt to defend the Church; and Växjö, with Peter Ingemar—a pious but aging prelate with no backbone—*quasi quotidianam veretur captivitatem*, as Brask wrote of him.

Added to the political troubles came the growing threat

of heresy. Lutheranism had made its appearance in the country from Germany and was fast gaining ground. The first preachers of the new doctrines were Olaf and Lars Peterson, the sons of a blacksmith of Orebro.[1] They had studied at Wittenberg and had been won over to Lutheranism. Returning to Strängnäs, Olaf had, in 1519, converted the Archdeacon of the Chapter Lars Andersen and some other members of the clergy.

Leo X died in 1521 and was succeeded by the Dutchman Adrian VI, who sent Hans Manusson (Johannes Magni), a Swede long absent from his country, to settle the affairs of the Swedish Church. By the time he arrived Gustav Vasa had been elected King. Vasa received the legate with every mark of honour and requested that the traitorous Trolle should be removed canonically from the See of Uppsala, and that the Pope should appoint native-born and peace-loving bishops. In 1523 he wrote directly to Pope Adrian, suggesting the appointment of the legate Manusson to the See of Uppsala and sending at the same time a list of candidates elected by the chapters for the other Sees. It was a clever move to win the support of the legate by offering him the metropolitan See, and Manusson seems in fact to have been won over to the King's side. But Trolle persuaded the Pope of the righteousness of his cause to such an extent that Adrian refused to grant the King's request and ordered Manusson to recognize the lawful Archbishop. The Pope's decision was just, perhaps, but it was extremely unfortunate; an "impolitic step" Pastor has called it. The King replied with threats. If the Pope persisted in supporting Trolle, "a seditious, bloody and notorious traitor to his country," then the legate could go where he liked, and the king would dispose of the bishoprics and of religion as he wished—*de ecclesiis et christiana religione disponemus secundum quod Deo et omnibus christianis Principibus placere credamus.* The association of the Almighty with the Christian Princes

[1] The Latinized names of these reformers, following the contemporary custom, are often used in modern histories, and they add a certain dignity to the movement. Translated into the vernacular they are less imposing. Olaus and Laurentius Petri are merely Olaf and Lars Peterson; Laurentius Andreae is Lars Andersen; while Johannes and Petrus Magni are Hans and Peter Manusson, and so on. I have usually preferred the vernacular forms.

was significant and ominous. By the end of the year Gustav was threatening national apostasy. "Troubles will follow, and please God they do not lead to separation from the Church of Rome. Rumour grows daily of a doctrine spreading in a neighbouring country against the power of the Pope." The doctrine was in fact spreading closer at hand. In May 1523 Brask accused Andersen of heresy and urged the King to take action against him. Gustav, whether from conviction or expediency, temporized. While declaring his allegiance to the Church, he appointed Lars Peterson to the chair of theology in the University of Uppsala and made Lars Andersen Archdeacon of the diocese. In 1525 Olaf married a wife, and in the following year Andersen produced a Swedish version of the New Testament, while some years later Lars Peterson edited a Swedish translation of the whole Bible.

In the meantime Adrian VI was dead, and Clement VII, the very embodiment of dilatoriness, had been elected to the Papal throne. He delayed so long in answering the requests of the Swedish King that Gustav acted. He had pleaded for the early appointment of bishops in the interests of the Church, but in the event it was not the personnel of the Sees so much as their wealth and property which caused him finally to intervene. It was in fact this stimulus to reform which had been urging him all the time. As a Protestant historian has said, "the King made his compact with the Reformation with the intention of pocketing the pecuniary results and, with the acute perception of the practical man, saw that a reformation in Luther's sense gave him the means of breaking up the hierarchy and appropriating their riches to himself." How well Gustav found himself able to look after his own advantage is best proved by the fact that, at the end of the reign, 12,000 former Church properties had passed into the royal treasury. He had, moveover, at his death coin to the value of more than a million pounds.

Clement VII wrote in December 1525 to say that he would examine the Trolle affair, and in the meantime he appointed the legate Manusson as administrator of the See of Uppsala. But Gustav had made up his mind. The opposition of the

loyal bishops was systematically undermined by the King, who began unscrupulously to make himself master of their property. Manusson was exiled under the pretext of being sent on an embassy to Poland, and wide encouragement was given to the Lutheran preachers, who had already been active in the country. Peter Sunnaväder, Bishop of Västeras, and his provost Knut resisted these measures, but were arrested and executed for treason. Brask wrote to the Pope that the Church was in a pitiful condition and that there was no hope—*foris gladius, domi mors.*

In June 1527 Gustav played his best card. At a Riksdag assembled at Västeras he won the support of the nobles by a promise of loot from the property of the Church, and then presented the assembly with an ultimatum. Either he should be allowed to continue with reform and with the confiscation of Church property, or he would abdicate and leave the country to the mercy of the Danes. The clergy were cowed; after signing a futile protest, which they then buried under the floor of the church of St. Giles where they were assembled, they bowed to the royal will and surrendered. The crown took over the revenues of the bishoprics and monasteries, while the nobility were empowered to demand back gifts made since 1454; and "the pure word of God" was in future to be preached in the kingdom. New ecclesiastical regulations, known as the famous Västeras Ordinances, were drawn up bringing the Church in Sweden completely under royal control. The dispirited Brask, the only cleric who had shown any fight, caved in and retired into exile, where he died in 1544. The Swedish clergy had in fact acquitted themselves very poorly in their time of trial. The riches of the Church, the secular lives of the clergy and the political entanglements of the hierarchy had crushed out ideals and damped the ancient missionary ardour. The places of the great founders of the Swedish Church had been taken by little men, self-seeking politically-minded prelates, who in the moment of trial betrayed their trust and the ancient greatness of their country. Here even more than in England was "a hierarchy that failed."

Although Gustav maintained that he was not changing the ancient faith of the country, he allowed the reformers a great deal of liberty. A new "Mass Book," enshrining the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, was published in 1531, and the clergy were given instructions to marry, "to give undoubted evidence of their sincere attachment to the new Gospel." Most of the religious houses were suppressed, though exception was made for some of the Brigettine foundations, notably those at Vadstena and Skänninge. There was a great deal of unorganized opposition to the new religion among the ordinary people, but they had lost their natural leaders in the higher clergy and the nobility. In Smaland, East and West Gottland and the Dalecarlia there were risings which Gustav put down with honeyed words of treachery or punished by heavy fines. "If good words are worth anything we have used them richly" he once wrote to his brother. At the moment there was little bloodshed, and he was wise enough not to make martyrs. Sweden was left with no great heroic figure who led the resistance to the Reformation or laid down his life for the Faith.

Gustav's eldest son Erik had Calvinist leanings, but when he was succeeded by his brother John III in 1568 a Catholic reaction set in. Negotiations with the Papacy were undertaken and there was some hope of establishing a Swedish vernacular liturgy with Papal approval. The claim of John's son Sigismund to the Polish crown, however, provoked resistance in Sweden, and in 1592 Gustav's youngest son seized the crown as Charles IX. The Convention of Uppsala in 1593 accepted finally the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg, and declared that Lutheranism was in future to be the national religion and that no other would be tolerated. Those who refused to submit were given six weeks in which to leave the kingdom. "Sweden," it was said, "has become one man and all of us have one Lord and God." The Reformation was complete, and Sweden was to become, with England, the leading Protestant power in the seventeenth century struggle against the Counter-Reformation.

ANDREW BECK

THE TERCENTENARY OF JEAN RACINE

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RACINE was born late in December 1639 at La Ferté-Milon in Le Valois, but three hundred years constitute a period elastic enough to be given an extension of a few months. His name and that of his elder contemporary, Pierre Corneille, are in France the supreme names of tragic drama, and generations of French critics have entered the lists as champions of one or the other, or of both, and have brilliantly said nearly all that is to be said about them.

And when we consider the prestige of French criticism, with a Voltaire in the eighteenth century and a Sainte-Beuve in the nineteenth, with Lemaître and Faguet so near our own time, it is surely marvellous to think how severely this field of French classic tragedy has been left to the French alone. Men big and small of all nationalities had and have their say about Dante and Shakespeare and Cervantes and Goethe, and about Molière and Voltaire, but about the seventeenth century tragedy there is mostly silence or, when it is mentioned, something like the two minutes' silence—possibly profanely broken by English speakers with some remark about the stiff formalism of the French classic stage and the monotony of rhymed alexandrines.

The only thing of import about the matter in English criticism, as far as my reading goes, is a brilliant essay on Racine by Lytton Strachey in *Books and Characters*. And Strachey spends some time in his essay giving expression to "a feeling not only of entire disagreement, but of almost personal distress" with regard to the extraordinary judgments of his fellow-countrymen. Those judgments are dominant here in Ireland, though seldom found in print.

If I am to say a little against them and make a humble and belated offering to the shade of Racine, it is not merely

by giving an impression of French admiration of him that I can do it. I shall have to describe how I personally came to know his plays and to cherish them. And my case here is peculiar, for I was a late-comer. I learned French at college, but didn't continue it in my university course and I hadn't read a play of Racine when I stopped. I spent three years in the Irish College in Paris and got to know French better, but still didn't read Racine. It was in 1917, I think, when I was twenty-eight, that Professor Rudmose-Brown presented me with his edition of *Andromaque*. Then for the first time I read the admirably brief summary by Racine of the theme of the play, derived from the episode in the third book of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas and his companions find the wife of their dead chief Hector, lately become the widow of Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. She tells them how Pyrrhus had sought and won Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, in marriage, how Orestes the son of Agamemnon loved Hermione and killed Pyrrhus at the altar. The plot is quite different, as the poet tells us to show his originality, from the *Andromaché* of Euripides. But it is also different from the story of Virgil, as he tells us apologetically. It is Astyanax, her child by Hector, who is with Andromaché in Epirus. Pyrrhus loves her, but does not take her by right of conquest. There you have Racine the Christian writing for Christians, for whom another notion of love had come into the world. She remains Hector's Andromaché. Hermione has come to Epirus to marry Pyrrhus, and *her* lover Orestes comes with a demand from the Greeks that Hector's child be given up, which he hopes that Pyrrhus will refuse. Hermione loves Pyrrhus, and wants Andromaché and her child out of the way. And Pyrrhus declares romantically that he will fight all Greece if Andromaché accepts his hand, but if not . . . he can be the ruthless primitive chieftain. And there is enacted a drama of love, and murderous jealousy, and cruel ultimatums, and faithfulness to a dead hero, which it would be hard to parallel. And all moving with intenser power within the severe limits of classical dramatic form and with the harmonious melody of poetry that gives to the horror and tension the purification

that makes for supreme enjoyment. The more you read Racine, the more it goes against your inclination to isolate his verses from the context, but something must be given as an example. When Andromaché is driven to making some advance towards Pyrrhus in order to save her child, she says:

Et je puis voir répandre un sang si précieux ?
Et je laisse avec lui périr tous ses aïeux ?
Roi barbare, faut-il que mon crime l'entraîne ?
Si je te hais, est-il coupable de ma haine ?
T'a-t-il de tous les siens reproché le trépas ?
S'est-il plaint à tes yeux des maux qu'il ne sent pas ?
Mais cependant, mon fils, tu meurs si je n'arrête
Le fer que le cruel tient levé sur ta tête.
Je l'en puis détourner, et je t'y vais offrir ? . . . .
Non, tu ne mourras point, je ne le puis souffrir.
. . . . . .
Allons sur son tombeau consulter mon époux.

The *tombeau* is the empty one which Virgil describes as made by Andromaché outside the town gates, where she is seen by Aeneas and his companions in the act of making offerings to the dead. People may say what they like about the formalism of the classic stage and the naturalness of

He has no children !—All my pretty ones ?
Did you say, all ? O, hell-kite ?—All ?
What, all my pretty chickens, and their dam,
At one fell swoop ?

or of the much praised

Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life,
And thou no breath at all ?

Of course it is a matter of taste, but the tragic and bridled tenseness of Andromraché's melodious words leaves me thinking that there is much to be said for the French predilection.

The next play of Racine which I read after *Andromaque* was, I think, *Bajazet*. Its plot is a story of love and jealousy and murder in the seraglio in Constantinople, and the events had happened only thirty-four years before the play. The subject might be considered one for melodrama, and it is interesting to read Racine's preface with its apologia for bringing events so recent into a tragedy. Distance in time is made up for, he says, by distance in space and by the enor-

mous difference in manners and ethics between Turkish and Christian society. And how well and in what terrible fashion he marks that difference in the first speech made by Roxane, the Sultana, to Bajazet the brother of the absent Sultan, when she seeks to persuade him, by making her his wife and usurping the throne, to break the bondage in which she holds him by order!

> Le visir Acomat vous répond de Byzance :
> Et moi, vous le savez, je tiens sous ma puissance
> Cette foule de chefs, d'esclaves, de muets,
> Peuple que dans ses murs renferme ce palais,
> Et dont à ma faveur les âmes asservies
> M'ont vendu dès longtemps leur silence et leurs vies.

Everyone lives there in the shadow of violent and obscure death: the Sultana for being faithless to her husband and deferring the order to have Bajazet killed; Bajazet's cousin, the young lady Atalide, whom Roxane has employed to do her courting, with the result that the cousins declare undying love to each other; and Bajazet himself, who is a free man only for a brief period of the play, through a half-hearted pretence of yielding to the Sultana's designs. And when Roxane finds that she has been deceived, her unrequited love and her thirst for vengeance are expressed in words that surely place her among the great damned souls of the stage :—

> Ah, traître, tu mourras!
> (*To her slave*) Quoi, tu n'es point partie?
> Va. Mais nous-même allons, précipitons nos pas.
> Qu'il me voie attentive au soin de son trépas,
> Lui montrer à la fois et l'ordre de son frère
> Et de sa trahison ce gage trop sincère.
> Toi, Zatime, retiens ma rivale en ces lieux.
> Qu'il n'ait, en expirant, que ses cris pour adieux.
> Qu'elle soit cependant fidèlement servie.
> Prends soin d'elle. Ma haine a besoin de sa vie.
> Ah si, pour son amant facile à s'attendrir,
> La peur de son trépas la fit presque mourir;
> Quel surcroît de vengeance et de douceur nouvelle
> De le montrer bientôt pâle et mort devant elle,
> De voir sur cet objet ses regards arrêtés
> Me payer les plaisirs que je leur ai prêtés!
> Va, retiens-la.

And when all that animal and yet majestic horror is felt moving in the same composition with the romantic affection of the cousins and the good-natured, wily and difficult diplomacy of the Vizier, the spectator or the reader, who wants what is hard and durable and luminous, will surely find his want satisfied. I believe the statisticians of criticism have counted the total of words Racine uses and have found it insufficient—only a fraction of the vocabulary of their giants. However, I remember a saying of Russell Lowell in his essay on Wordsworth, that it isn't a great Xerxes-army of words, but a compact Greek Ten Thousand, that go down to posterity.

Indeed the startling thing about Racine's language is that it is not in any way stiff and ornate and far removed from ordinary speech, as we might easily be led to think in lands north of France if we hadn't read the plays. It is so near to the ordinary cultivated language of Frenchmen that Sainte-Beuve said of Racine that he skimmed on the surface of prose : *il rase la prose.* Lemaître adds, *mais c'est avec des ailes.* He has no fire-works of speech like " cradle of the rude imperious surge " or " the multitudinous seas incarnadine." Take the words of Bérénice, the Jewish queen, when Roman reasons of state compel her to leave Rome and the Emperor Titus for ever :—

> Pour jamais ! Ah seigneur ! Songez-vous en vous-même
> Combien ce mot cruel est affreux quand on aime.
> Dans un mois, dans un an, comment souffrirons-nous,
> Seigneur, que tant de mers me séparent de vous ;
> Que le jour récommence et que le jour finisse
> Sans que jamais Titus puisse voir Bérénice,
> Sans que, de tout le jour, je puisse voir Titus ?

It seems profanation to seek to analyse the elements of such language, but it is amazing to find so many monosyllables and so many commonplace words yield such a sweet and melancholy music, that seems to be endlessly fading away over leagues of land and sea, and sundering years.

With regard to *Athalie*, the last play of Racine, I can speak from peculiar experience, for about eleven years ago I had the boldness to undertake to translate it into Irish.

Four years previously Mother Eucharia Ryan of Loreto Hall, St. Stephen's Green, had done me the honour of asking me to translate the *Antigone* of Sophocles into Irish for stage performance by the young ladies of the Hall. The representation, which happened in 1926, seemed to please a great many people, not least Mother Eucharia herself; and subsequently I often heard her express a wish to stage *Athalie* in similar circumstances and renew the memory of its first performance by the young ladies of the school that Madame de Maintenon founded. Mother Eucharia had not had her wish at the time of her death a few years after, and it was as an act of homage to that great lady's memory that I undertook to translate the play; and the new Superioress, Mother Veronica Murphy, kindly and with enthusiasm saw to its performance.

It is surely one of the most moving, as well as the most improbable and, it may be said, romantic things in dramatic history, the manner in which Racine came to write the play of *Athalie*. He was an orphan at a tender age, and his childhood and early youth had been moulded in severe piety and in classic learning by those great schoolmasters, the Jansenists of Port-Royal des Champs. For a couple of years at least, when ecclesiastical authority had compelled them to close their schools, he must have been their solitary pupil and spoiled child, and indeed must have received from them the education of a prince. It is clear from his marginally annotated Greek texts that still survive, as well as from his subsequent dramas, that his mind had been happily ingrafted from the Grecian tree in a way that can hardly be claimed for any other mind in Christian Europe. But when he went out into the world and turned that mind to resurrect the glories of the Attic stage in a world of changed ethical values, the trouble began. The Church of the Counter-Reformation had set its face against the stage. Bossuet wrote of the almost inevitable and therefore actual sinfulness of watching sympathetically the representation of sinful passions; the more lovely and restrained the writing and the acting, the greater the danger. And the Jansenists were even severer enemies of the drama, not having even the inclination to temporise which a court prelate like

Bossuet might have. It was true that Nicole had turned some comedies of Terence into French for his scholars. But things seen were different from things read and studied for the cultivation of the mind. And when Racine went over to the enemy a cry of horror arose in Port-Royal, and Nicole wrote of the community's darling boy as a poisoner of the public mind. Racine replied with wit, but with such bitterness towards the men who had been father and mother to him as to reveal that a seed of unhappiness had fallen in his heart and was growing there. It is true that the loves of the great lords and ladies of his plays almost all seek fulfilment in marriage, honourable or otherwise, and not finding it, become agonising and even murderous jealousies and despairs ; for all that, they were set in the light of Parnassus and of the God of the Lyre, and could set many a youthful mind imagining in day-dreams

il disiato riso
Esser baciato di cotanto amante.

. . . .

Galeotto fu il libro et chi lo scrisse.

I said, *almost* all the loves of Racine's plays seek fulfilment in marriage. But not all, for there is *Phèdre*, the last and the supreme of those he wrote for the Parisian stage. Phèdre loves her step-son Hippolyte, while her husband Theseus is still alive. She struggles against her love and hides it, though it is killing her like a disease. And she only declares it when strongly urged by her compassionate old nurse and when Theseus is reported, though falsely, to be dead. And then she is repulsed with horror by Hippolyte, and learns soon after that Hippolyte was not the austerely virgin youth he was supposed to be—and his being such might solace her humiliation—but loved and plighted his faith to the youthful Aricie. After that, further life becomes Hell for her and the forerunner of another Hell beyond death :

Misérable ! Et je vis ! et je soutiens la vue
De ce sacré Soleil dont je suis descendue !
J'ai pour aïeul le père et le maître des dieux ;
Le ciel, tout l'univers est plein de mes aïeux.
Où me cacher ! Fuyons dans la nuit infernale.

Mais que dis-je ! mon père y tient l'urne fatale ;
Le sort, dit-on, l'a mise en ses sevères mains :
Minos juge aux enfers tous les pâles humains.
Ah ! combien frémira son ombre épouvantée
Lorsqu'il verra sa fille à ses yeux presentée,
Contrainte d'avouer tant de forfaits divers
Et des crimes peut-être inconnus aux enfers !
Que diras-tu, mon père, à ce spectacle horrible ?
Je crois voir de ta main tomber l'urne terrible ;
Je crois te voir, cherchant un supplice nouveau,
Toi-même de ton sang devenir le bourreau.
Pardonne. Un dieu cruel a perdu ta famille . . .

For those who reflect that these verses were written by a Catholic poet whose childhood and adolescence had been spent in a school and in a cloister of Jansenists, it becomes vividly clear (and no intelligent person in the audience would have thought otherwise) that their heart-rending cry was just a transposition, to the world of ancient fable, of the dread of the Particular Judgment in a Christian soul, created by the God of the universe and redeemed in vain by His Son. The men of Port-Royal saw that and had a meeting of reconciliation with their Prodigal.

Yet Racine probably still thought that the trail of the serpent was on the play. Did not the accents of temptation linger about the lines in which Phèdre speaks of the unclouded love of Hippolyte and Aricie ?—

Les a-t-on vus souvent se parler, se chercher ?
Dans le fond des forêts allaient-ils se cacher ?
Hélas ! ils se voyaient avec pleine licence ;
Le ciel de leurs soupirs approuvait l'innocence ;
Ils suivaient sans remords leur penchant amoureux ;
Tous les jours se levaient clairs et sereins pour eux.

And could not Phèdre herself almost be said to win pardon of her sinfulness by her unhappiness and remorse ? The poet had almost acquitted her in his preface by saying : " In truth, Phèdre is not altogether guilty nor altogether innocent. She is involved, by her destiny and by the anger of the gods, in an unlawful passion at which herself is the first to be horrified. She makes every effort to overcome it. She chooses death rather than declare it to anyone, and when she is forced

to discover it, she speaks of it with a confusion which reveals that her crime is more a punishment of the gods than a movement of her own will."

Add to all those doubts, that the play had no success, while a stupid rival play by Pradon on the same theme was boosted by influential people and was applauded by a *claque* through several performances.

Besides, Racine's private life had led him, in spite of himself, into a labyrinth as unsavoury as the Cretan one of Phèdre's progenitor. His name had got mixed up in the famous *Affaire des Poisons*, and it seems there was a warrant for his arrest, which was not put into effect probably because the whole business was closured by the King on account of the galaxy of high names involved in it.

And so, principally through religious scruples, but probably affected also by wounded pride and the triumph of crass stupidity and by the nauseating horror of a sub-world of lust and sorcery and poisoning into which he had just strayed, Racine ceased to write for the stage. He turned completely to a life of religious observance, married a bourgeoise who had never read one of his plays, still less seen one, and who heard with a blush that there were such things as masculine and feminine rhymes. He reared his family with the Catholic earnestness of the Parisian bourgeoisie of the seventeenth century. This new life began in 1677, when Racine was thirty-eight years old.

He became Historiographer-Royal, an honour he shared with his friend Boileau, and was entirely *rangé*, and practically and with all his heart devout. He wrote and translated religious verses with power and charm, continued to read and annotate his Greek authors ; he even revised and corrected his plays—can even a converted poet fall out of love with his verses ? But he never wrote for the stage, and bade his sons never to set foot in a theatre.

But as Jules Lemaître has said, a delicious temptation lay in wait for Racine. In 1689, twelve years after his conversion, he was asked by Madame de Maintenon, who had become the King's wife and had founded the school of Saint Cyr for the

children of the poorer nobility, to write a religious play for the young ladies, with canticles intermingled. The result was *Esther*, in the preface to which he writes :—

I proposed to them the subject of Esther . . . And I thought that for my part I should have enough facility in treating that subject; all the more because it seemed to me that, without altering any of the circumstances, however inconsiderable, of Holy Writ (which would be, in my opinion, a kind of sacrilege), I could fill all the action with the only scenes which God Himself, so to speak, has prepared.

So I undertook the matter; and I perceived that in working on the plan given me, *I was somehow carrying out a design which had often passed through my mind—namely, to link, as in the ancient Greek tragedies, the chorus and the singing with the action, and to employ for singing the praises of the true God that part of the chorus which the pagans devoted to singing the praises of their false divinities.*

And he had a stage for this, the stage of a convent founded by the Most Christian King and his Consort; and these were to be in his audience, and James II of England and his Queen, and the Court and Parisian society, and even Bossuet. Corneille had once staged in Paris a great play of Christian martyrdom, *Polyeucte*, but the leaders of literary fashion decided that the mysteries of religion and the public stage were incompatible. The Court, grown religious, had changed that. Racine, after the long years since his conversion and farewell to the drama, had the innocent pleasure of training a troupe of convent young ladies in the art that had been the intermediary between his youthful genius and the public. The stage, the lighting, the dresses were provided from Versailles, and the choral parts were sung to music made by Lully. The performance was a supreme success, and even Madame de Sévigné, whose allegiance was to Corneille and who once had written : "Racine passera comme le café," now wrote : "I cannot describe for you the extraordinary pleasingness of this play : it is a thing not easy to enact and can never be imitated; it is an alliance of music, poetry, singing and persons, so perfect and complete as to leave nothing to be desired."

Racine had returned to fame. Still, he must have felt unsatisfied. He must have known that his subject-matter was an episode of an oriental harem and of the vengeance of Jews on their persecutors, and that it required a *tour de force*

to dress his story in the suavity and piety that made it fit for a convent. But once re-started, he could not stop till he found a theme that gave him a chance to rival, on the Christian stage, the religious plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles. He found it in the history of the Kings of Juda, the story of how the infant Joas, the last survivor of David's line, was saved from murder and brought up secretly in the Temple till the time came for proclaiming him King. This time the theme was not an isolated Bible episode; for the child snatched from the slaughter was one of the line of ancestors of the promised Messiah, and the Temple, whose religion he was to save from the victory of Baal, was the forerunner of the Church of Christ. This time, Racine saw forming in his mind the drama of God's designs for the salvation of man. And he wrote *Athalie*.

I came to know *Athalie* better than any of Racine's plays, for I wrestled with every line of it, in my free hours, for months in 1929. I took it with me for walks in the lonesome part of Meath that borders the townland where I live, and down by the sea in Kerry, where I could declaim the speeches and the odes with no people within earshot to shake their heads about me—and then declaim translations that tried to reproduce the meaning and movement of the original.

Lytton Strachey, in explaining the difference of standard between English verse and that of Racine, speaks of "the vast and penetrating influence of those grand masters of bizarrerie, the Hebrew prophets," on English style. And he is not alone in taking for granted that it was only in the Protestant North that the Bible became naturalised. But it grew clear to me that more of the Hebrew prophets, and of the Bible as a whole, went into the body and soul of *Athalie* than into any English composition. And the "bizarrerie" is not obvious; in fact, the word is only a name given by a child of "enlightenment" to the utterance of men possessed by the ideas of God's omnipotence and omnipresence. Racine's mind was charged with the burden of those mysteries; they became his own mysteries, and when he expressed them, he absorbed so completely into his own language and style the matter of Hebrew prophets and poets as not to leave a

trace of " bizarrerie " or archaism on his writing. Consider the verses of the opening chorus :—

Il donne aux fleurs leur aimable peinture ;
Il fait naître et mûrir les fruits ;
Il leur dispense avec mesure
Et la chaleur des jours et la fraîcheur des nuits ;
Le champ qui les reçut les rend avec usure.

Il commande au soleil d'animer la nature,
Et la lumière est un don de ses mains.
Mais sa loi sainte, sa loi pure
Est le plus riche don qu'il ait fait aux humains.

Or take the preparation and the opening portion of Joad's prophecy, which seem to me to have a more moving and subtle harmony than the more quoted second part, in which the future Christian Church is foreseen :—

Voilà donc quels vengeurs s'arment pour ta querelle ;
Des prêtres, des enfants, ô Sagesse éternelle !
Mais si tu les soutiens, qui peut les ébranler ?
Du tombeau, quand tu veux, tu sais nous rappeler.
Tu frappes et guéris, tu perds et ressuscites.
Ils ne s'assurent point en leurs propres mérites,
Mais en ton nom sur eux invoqué tant de fois,
En tes serments jurés au plus saint de leurs Rois,
En ce Temple où tu fais ta demeure sacrée,
Et qui doit du Soleil égaler la durée.

. . . . . .

Où menez-vous ces enfants et ces femmes ?
Le Seigneur a detruit la Reine des cités ;
Ses prêtres sont captifs, ses Rois sont rejetés ;
Dieu ne veut plus qu'on vienne à ses solennités.
Temple, renverse-toi ; cèdres, jetez des flammes.
Jérusalem, objet de ma douleur,
Quelle main en un jour t'a ravi tous tes charmes ?
Qui changera mes yeux en deux sources de larmes
Pour pleurer ton malheur ?

But enough of quotation, which indeed seems less satisfying in the case of *Athalie* than for any other play of Racine, for in *Athalie* every line is like a soldier on duty in the course of an action. On account of the necessity of giving pre-

liminary information to the audience, the opening act of a classic drama is generally affected with slowness. But that is not true of *Athalie*. Once Abner and the High Priest have begun their conversation before dawn in the first act, the first stirrings of the divine management of things are there, and the chief actor is felt to be the unseen Presence in the Holy of Holies.

Racine's wonderful assimilation of classic literature and of the Bible gave him a knowledge, that was almost an instinct, of a thing that is not so obvious in the writings of modern historians who drag with them the lumber of evolutionary ideas. I owe the perception of this to Professor Chauviré; the thing I speak of is the thesis so irrefutably proved by Fustel de Coulanges in *La Cité Antique*, that religion was the constituent principle of the ancient family and tribe and city state. The fundamental fact in the mind of every actor in *Athalie* is a relentless war between Jehovah and Baal. When Athalie is to be led unwittingly to the house of her destroyers in the last act, the High Priest exclaims:

Grand Dieu, voici ton heure, on t'amène ta proie.

Ismael, telling of the flight of the gentile army, says:

Baal est en horreur dans le sainte Cité.
De son Temple profane on a brisé les portes.
Mathan est égorgé.

Mathan was the priest of Baal. And then comes the old Queen's cry of unfathomable despair:

Dieu des Juifs, tu l'emportes!

. . . . .

Impitoyable Dieu, toi seul as tout conduit!

It seems marvellous that a Christian writer of the seventeenth century could share, with such dramatic sympathy, in the ideas of all sides in a contest in which his own religious faith was so deeply involved. But indeed it may be said that it was only Racine's religious earnestness, aided by his dramatic genius and his immense knowledge of antiquity, that could lead him to the inner mind of every character in such a struggle.

Among some of Racine's admirers, not sharers of his

religious fervour, this great drama, and indeed the long austere Christian years of his later life, were set " for a sign that shall be contradicted." Some could not reconcile the converted Racine with Racine the courtier; and when they heard of the passage in his will directing that his body should lie at the feet of M. Hamon in the cemetery of Port-Royal des Champs, they gave currency to the epigram that " he would never have done it in his life-time." Those are the people who assume that the only Christian life is monastic life. Voltaire, whose admiration for Racine the poet and dramatist was boundless, spends much ingenuity in proving that Athalie was the deliberately chosen heroine, in the best sense of the word, of the play and that the sound and strong government of the gentile Queen was meant to contrast favourably with the savage theocracy of Joad. There are various other stages of the mental wandering that follows refusal to accept the obvious. The truth is that the dearest theme of Racine's Muse was love, and that when he ceased to write of the earthly loves of men and women, it was to turn with all his heart to the love of God. Among the best verses that he wrote can be reckoned some of those in his Canticle in praise of Charity, based on St. Paul's lyric words in the first Epistle to the Corinthians; and surely no other poem, made on this side of the grave, can rival the beatific calm of the last singer's words at the end of the third act of *Athalie*:

D'un cœur qui t'aime,
Mon Dieu, qui peut troubler la paix?
Il cherche en tout ta volonté suprême,
Et ne se cherche jamais.
Sur la terre, dans le ciel même,
Est-il d'autre bonheur que la tranquille paix
D'un cœur qui t'aime?

Critics who imagine that a poet could write such words merely as a pious pastime *pour les jeunes filles*, and not out of faith and ardour, seem fit subjects for Aristotle's sentence on arguers who will maintain that snow is black, *Non ratione sed poena indigent.*

P. Browne

IRISH MONKS AND THE CLUNIAC REFORM

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NO student of medieval Irish history can escape the problems that are set him by the reform of our Irish ecclesiastical system in the twelfth century. That reform was initiated by a small group of earnest churchmen, whose work culminated in the reforming synods of Rath Breasail and Fiadh-mac-Aengusa (1110-11). But the movement which they carried forward to this successful conclusion can be traced back to the influence of two famous Italian archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc (1070-89) and Saint Anselm (1093-1109). Many scholars have found in the letters which these two great prelates addressed to the Irish kings and bishops of their day the immediate occasion of the whole Irish reforming movement. To quote Dom Gougaud—himself, like Lanfranc and Anselm, a Benedictine monk : " The work of reform was carried on in the Irish Church throughout the entire twelfth century. The impulse came from Canterbury."[1] Is this a fair statement of the facts? The purpose of this essay is to suggest that Ireland was very much more closely in contact with reforming churchmen on the Continent in the tenth and eleventh centuries than is commonly admitted by our historians.[2] And the contacts that can be traced show Irish monks and hermits most active precisely in those districts of Central Europe in which the programme later advocated by a line of great reforming Popes was first formulated and carried into execution.

A word of explanation is perhaps needed at this point. Our historical text-books have familiarised us with the notion that the Benedictine reform associated with the great abbey of Cluny in Burgundy was a main factor in the revival of papal influence which is so apparent in the pontificate of men

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

like Leo IX (1049-54), Nicholas II (1059-61), Gregory VII (1073-85) and Urban II (1088-99). This last-named Pope, who preached the first crusade in 1095 and who died in the year that saw the capture of Jerusalem, was himself a Cluniac monk; and it was for long believed that Gregory VII, the greatest of these reforming Popes, had also made his monastic profession at Cluny. That personal link between Hildebrand and the Cluniac reform has now been definitely abandoned, and modern scholars are learning to distinguish more and more clearly between the Cluniac Benedictine movement, which was essentially monastic in its ideals and methods, and the wider, bolder and more apostolic movement of episcopal reform which begins with the pontificate of Leo IX, formerly a German bishop of Toul in Lorraine.[3] Lorraine, more than any other district of Central Europe, had been a centre of this episcopal reform; and Leo IX was no more than the most earnest and the most saintly of a remarkable group of German reforming prelates. The Irish monks and hermits whose presence can be traced on the Continent in the tenth century were closely connected with the first reformers of the churches in Lorraine. The question may fairly be asked: how far did the Irish reformers of the late eleventh and early twelfth century look back to these pioneer reformers of their own race and speech rather than to the two great Italian prelates, whose voice was heard so clearly from Canterbury in the days of William the Conqueror and his two sons?

As we shall see, the Irishmen who went abroad as monks and pilgrims seem to have had little direct contact with the Cluniac communities; and had little sympathy for the customs of Cluny. Lanfranc and Anselm had been trained in Bec, the great Norman priory which, though not subject to the abbot of Cluny, had accepted the Cluniac customs as its standard of religious observance. They are thus representative of a monastic tradition which made no lasting impression on the Irish Church. The coming of Saint Bernard's Cistercian monks in the generation after Anselm's death brought Ireland into contact with a movement which was felt to be very much closer to ancient Celtic traditions, and which undoubtedly

made a deeper impression here in Ireland than any other Benedictine movement.

Our first glimpse of Irish monasticism on the Continent after the Carolingian age shows us that these Irish pilgrims had won the favour of Otto the Great. The name is significant, for Irish wandering monks and scholars of the preceding century had been attracted to the Western portion of Charlemagne's empire. The collapse of the Carolingian power towards the end of the ninth century had deprived Irishmen abroad of a patronage which had seldom failed them for three long generations. Meanwhile a new centre of power was being formed in the Eastern provinces of the Carolingian lands. Henry the Fowler, who was elected king of the German peoples in 919, had been duke of the Saxons—that race which had resisted Charlemagne so stubbornly for almost thirty years. Henry's reign marks the transition to a new epoch. His son, Otto the Great, revived the Roman Empire in its new German form in 962. Twenty-five years had then passed since Otto had succeeded to his father's crown in 936. Those years had witnessed the beginnings of what has not unfairly been called the Ottonian renaissance.

The ecclesiastical side of this German revival centres round the person of Otto's youngest brother, Bruno, who was appointed chancellor of the kingdom in 940.[4] Bruno was no more than a boy of fifteen years at that date; he became abbot of Lauresheim in 947 and archbishop of Cologne in 953. As archbishop, Bruno inaugurated a reform of the monasteries in his diocese. His biography has been written by Ruotger, a monk of St. Pantaleon, one of the archbishop's foundations in Cologne.[5] Ruotger tells us that Bruno studied as a young man under an Irish bishop Israel (*episcopus Scotigena*) and that he never failed in later life to acknowledge his debt to this master. Israel in turn, when questioned by Ruotger as to his pupil's character, answered that he was a truly saintly man.

We should like to know more of the intercourse between these two men, one of whom was destined to play so great a part in the revival of Catholic life throughout the Rhineland.

But Ruotger says nothing of the studies which Israel directed, and we can only guess that this Irish bishop is identical with an Israel whose verses *De arte metrica super nomen et verbum* are extant in the Vatican Library.[6] Israel may almost certainly be identified with *Israhele Brittone*, one of the prelates who attended a synod at Verdun in 947.[7] Bruno, then abbot of Lauresheim, was also present at this synod, which had been summoned to decide between two rival claimants to the see of Rheims. One of the candidates failed to appear, and the matter was adjourned for final decision at a larger and more representative synod which met at Ingelheim in the following year. Though we have a full list of the prelates who attended this second synod, Israel's name does not appear among them. He was most probably a wandering bishop without any residential see; for the name *Israel episcopus nostrae congregationis monachus* appears in the necrology of St. Maximin of Trèves; and another necrology of the same period mentions *Israel episcopus conversus S. Maximini*.[8]

Israel's influence over Bruno accounts for a royal charter which Otto issued in 946 and which is counter-signed by Bruno as chancellor.[9] By the terms of this charter Otto confirms the grant of certain lands at Waulsort, near Dinant, to a community of Scottish or Irish monks. These lands were part of the estate of Count Eilbert, whose lordship covered a large area in what is now the Ardennes and Haut-Picardie in France. Eilbert's wife Heresuindis is mentioned in more than one document of this period as a friend and patron of Irish pilgrims, who seem to have been attracted towards this district by the memories of Péronne, once famous as *Peronna Scotorum*. At his wife's request Eilbert offered various *mansi* to the strangers as a site for a new monastic foundation. The bishops of Mainz and Liège intervened on behalf of the pilgrims, and Otto grants this charter at their request. He orders that these lands shall remain the property of the Scots in perpetuity, so long as any of their race survive; and that no monk save a Scot shall be made their abbot. Should the Scots die out in the monastery, the lands are to pass to some other fervent lover of the holy rule. For

these monks are described in an earlier clause as " servants of God who have come from *Scotia* for the sake of pilgrimage and who wish to live under the rule of Saint Benedict." The word *Scoti* is used throughout the document to describe these pilgrims. We shall see that this convenient term covers both Scotsmen and Irishmen in this particular instance.

Further details about this foundation in Waulsort may be found in three early documents : a *Chronicle of Waulsort*, a *Vita S. Forannani*, and a *Vita S. Cadroae*. Unfortunately, the first two of these documents are relatively late, dating from the middle of the twelfth century when the early history of Waulsort had been confused by the growth of legend and the deliberate invention of spurious documents.[10] By that time Waulsort had become the motherhouse of a neighbouring monastery at Hastière, and this more recent community had begun to overshadow the earlier foundation. The *Vita Forannani* [11] seems to have been composed by a certain Robert with the deliberate purpose of restoring the prestige of Waulsort by the glorification of an Irish saint who is claimed as the monastery's first abbot. The *Chronicle of Waulsort* [12] is later than Robert's *Vita Forannani*, and its narrative is vitiated by the acceptance of Robert's pious fictions. According to these two documents Forannan, the monastery's first abbot, ruled Waulsort from an early date to the year 969. His place was then taken by Cadroe, who left Waulsort for St. Felix at Metz some years later. The monastery's third abbot was Machalan, who is said to have died in 990. He was followed by Immo, the fourth abbot, who died in 995.

All these dates can be shown to be false by a comparison with the *Vita S. Cadroae*, a very much earlier and more reliable witness.[13] Cadroe's arrival from Scotland can be dated to within a year or two of Otto's royal charter of 946 ; and his death at Metz can be fixed to March 6, 977. His biography was written by a monk named Riemann,[14] who tells us that he had been requested to write this *Vita* by Cadroe's fellow-countrymen at Metz. It is dedicated to Immo, evidently the fourth abbot of Waulsort according to the *Chronicle*. This *Vita Cadroae* is far more personal and vivid in its narrative

than the later *Vita S. Forannani*; and its statements can be shown to be trustworthy, whenever it is possible to compare them with the known facts of contemporary history. We may take it as our safest guide to the early history of Waulsort and the later foundation of two Irish communities at Metz.

Cadroe's native land was not Ireland, but Scotland. The *Vita* tells us that he was of kingly family and mentions a Constantine as king of Scotland. He is plainly Constantine II MacAlpine, who abdicated in 942 and died in the monastery of St. Andrew in 952.[15] But Cadroe's race was Irish in its origins, and the *Vita* begins with a very curious account of the legendary origins of the Irish nation. The stories which are now embedded in the *Lebor Gabála* are here told in traditional style, but with a false rhetoric of which Riemann is obviously most proud. We need not examine this introductory section in detail—that is a task best left to our students of Celtic antiquities. But one point may be noted for the light it throws on the Irish monks who supplied Riemann with his stories. When the Eastern invaders reached Ireland, they conquered the island's five principal cities. Their names are given as Clonmacnoise, Armagh, Kildare, Cork and Bangor: five of the principal monastic schools in tenth-century Ireland.

Cadroe himself was educated at Armagh, where we are told that he became familiar with all the learning of the schools, including geometry and astronomy. From Armagh the saint went back to Scotland (we are nowhere told the place of his birth) and began his career as a preacher of the gospel throughout the land. After some years he is warned in a dream that his true vocation is to go abroad as a pilgrim for Christ. His kinsmen and friends seek to dissuade him and appeal to King Constantine.[16] But all is in vain. He journeys south through the land of the *Cumbri*—probably Cumberland, though the king of this land is named as Donald and appears to be identical with Donald, king of Strathclyde.[17] Through Cumberland he reaches England, where he visits Egmund (940-46) at Winchester. Egmund recommends him to Odo,

ho is wrongly styled archbishop of Winchester, being in ict archbishop of Canterbury (935-53). The archbishop ccompanies him to the coast, and the saint sets sail for France ith his companions. Among them is his nephew, whom he as brought as a travelling companion. But a strong wind inders their safe crossing, and Cadroe is again warned in a ream that he must put back to England and leave this insman behind him, if he wishes to make the shores of France. his is done, and the boat finally reaches Boulogne, whence adroe and his companions set out for Péronne. Here St. ursee appears to him in yet another dream and bids him seek home elsewhere. It is at this point in the story that we rst hear of Eilbert and his devout wife Heresuindis.

All the names we have mentioned so far fit perfectly with he known facts of contemporary history, if we assume that adroe reached Péronne shortly before the date of Otto's harter (946). King Constantine, to whom Cadroe's kinsman appealed in a vain effort to stay his departure, may have lready abdicated his crown ; we know that he spent the last en years of his life as a monk. On the other hand, Cadroe ıay have reached France two or three years before the final rant of Waulsort to these Scoto-Irish pilgrims ; for the *Vita* ıakes it plain that Waulsort was not the first home which ount Eilbert offered to these pilgrims. Some time before he foundation of Waulsort, he built a church in honour of aint Michael, which still gives the name of St. Michel to a own in the district known as Thiérache, within the ancient iocese of Laon. Here the first group of Scoto-Irish pilgrims ettled, at a date which can no longer be exactly determined. hey were at first without a leader, for neither Cadroe nor is companion, whose name is given as either Machalanus r Malcalanus,[18] was prepared to accept the responsibility f ruling this new community.

Here an important fact emerges. Three centuries earlier, hen men like Columbanus, Gall and Fursee left Ireland for he Continent, they brought with them their Celtic traditions f monastic life, which they imposed on all their new foundaions. In Cadroe's day these traditions seem to have been

weaker, for the *Vita* tells us that the two future abbots o Waulsort separated at this early stage of their pilgrimag and went each to a famous Benedictine abbey for instructio in monastic discipline. Cadroe went to Florennes, whils Malcalan went to Gorz near Metz. Gorz was at this tim ruled by Agenald : his successor, John of Gorz, was a famou ascetic and (as we shall see) a personal friend of St. Cadroe Florennes was ruled by Erchembald, who admitted Cadro to monastic profession after a period of trial. Meanwhil Malcalan had been professed at Gorz. The *Vita*, which give us these few details, tells us that Malcalan acted for a time a abbot of two communities, one at St. Michel and another a Waulsort. The double burden proved too much for hin and Cadroe finally consented to accept the rule of Waulsor We are told that the saint only yielded to the command o Otto the Great. This statement probably means that Cadroe rule as abbot began at the time of Otto's charter (946).

Very little can be learned from the *Vita Cadroae* about th early foundation at Waulsort. The monks seem to have bee of Scottish origin for the most part, though Irish pilgrim may have been added at Péronne, and the church was ded cated to Saint Patrick.[19] One charming story lets us see tha novices were also recruited from neighbouring families. certain knight named Giver was admitted to the monaster and in accordance with the rule was required to take his fu share in the work of the community. He was put to hel the cook in the kitchen ; but knightly valour is not the be preparation for work of this kind. Very soon the novi had gashed his hand with the carving knife and came to th abbot for a remedy. Cadroe must have smiled at the scen we are told that he made a sign of the cross and so heale the wound. We hear also of a community of nuns who we under Cadroe's direction, and from whom he had to expel devil who had taken possession of one of the sisters. The was a similar community of Benedictine nuns at Metz, whith Cadroe went after some years at Waulsort.

It is a pity that we have so few details about these ear years, for it would be most interesting to know how far th

rule followed by Cadroe, Malcalan and their companions conformed to the normal Benedictine type. It is certain that Cadroe soon acquired a reputation for great austerity; and we may fairly conjecture that Celtic traditions died hard on the Continent, as they died hard in Ireland. As Cadroe's fame spread throughout Flanders and the Rhineland, the bishop of Metz, known as Adalbero I (929-62) to distinguish him from a more famous successor of the same name, sought to gain the holy man for his own diocese, where he was actively promoting the cause of reform. At a later date Waulsort was in some way dependent on the see of Metz,[20] but this connection may have been a consequence rather than a cause of Adalbero's intervention.

Cadroe left Waulsort for Metz in 953, but he did not cease to take an active interest in his first foundation.[21] The *Vita* (c. 25) tells us that the saint's successor strayed from the path of virtue, but gives no further details. From other sources we learn that Cadroe's first successor was a monk from St. Remy named Godfrey, who was evidently not an Irishman. The new abbot was unpopular, and discipline became relaxed. Godfrey was deposed at a date that can no longer be fixed, but Immo was abbot of Waulsort when the *Vita Cadroae* was written—soon after 977. If the *Vita Forannani* has any historical value, St. Forannan may be recognised as Waulsort's third abbot and the last Irishman to rule the monastery. He is said to have been consecrated at Armagh, and to have reached Waulsort about twenty years after its foundation. These details may be correct, but they are open to question. Malcalan died on January 21, 978—a date that is fixed by a fortunate entry in a contemporary chronicle.[22] Cadroe had died less than a year before that date, and we may assume that Waulsort had become an ordinary German Benedictine community by the end of the century.

Adalbero called Cadroe to Metz at a time when that city was becoming an important centre of ecclesiastical reform. The bishop was himself most active, and John, who had succeeded Agenald as abbot of Gorz, was famous throughout Lorraine for his austere sanctity. In the *Vita Joannis Gorz-*

iensis,[23] which was written towards the end of the eleventh century by one of John's disciples, we get a glimpse of Cadroe standing with four other neighbouring abbots round the deathbed of the abbot of Gorz. All the other monks had been permitted to enter the abbot's cell and take their last farewell. Cadroe, John of St. Arnulf (who wrote the dying man's *Vita*), Berhard, Odo and Adelmod remained in prayer round the abbot's couch until his last moment had come. The *Vita Cadroae*, which was written soon after this scene (for John of Gorz died in 974), adds a touching story. Cadroe, hearing that the abbot was ill, hastened to his bedside. The sick man needed better food than was permitted by the common rule of the monastery, but Cadroe knew that argument would be wasted on a man whose austerity was famous. Example is always better than precept, and Cadroe sat by the sick man's bedside eating meat and other delicacies until he had finally coaxed the abbot into some reasonable care of his health.

There is another story in the *Vita* which shows us that Cadroe himself held a stricter interpretation of the rule than was commonly accepted by the Benedictine abbots of his day. He was returning from a visit to Waulsort (perhaps in the days when Waulsort needed his help at a troubled time) and was travelling with two other abbots, Wultmar of Ghent and Médrand of Gembloux. On their journey they passed through land where water was scarce, and Cadroe's two companions suggested that they should anticipate the hour for a midday meal so as to eat it near a well. Cadroe insisted that the rule must be followed in all its strictness, and the three abbots went forward at the risk of finding no water. When the hour came for dinner, they were far from a well. His two companions grumbled. "Dry bread we can eat, here or anywhere; but where is the water?" The saint rebuked them for their lack of confidence, dug a sod from the earth, and straightway God caused a stream of living water to flow from beneath the sod. It was still flowing when the *Vita* was written: a constant witness to the merits of God's servant.

Cadroe was given the task of restoring two churches in Metz. Adalbero had brought him to the church of St. Clement, and his successor Theoderic gave him charge of a second church, dedicated to St. Felix Martyr. An old manuscript, now in the Royal Library at Brussels, contains the text of a poem written by some unknown monk of Metz in praise of the city's patron saints.[24] The author was most probably an Irishman, for he goes out of his way to commemorate Saint Patrick as patron of Ireland, and pays special tribute to the work of St. Cadroe and of a later Irish abbot named Fingen. Here is his portrait of the ruined church of St. Clement :—

Ipse locus quondam destructus tamque relictus
Presbiter ut tantum vix pauper viveret illic.
Urtice et sentes crescebant ede sacrata :
Custodes falsi sectant et lucra profana,
Ausi sacrilegaque manu disperdere sancta.

The bishop has pity on St. Clement and brings Cadroe to Metz as the restorer of his shrine :—

Corde pio doluit sanctorum perdier hedes,
Clementis meritis flagrans et fusus amore :
Adscivitque virum doctum iam Kadroe Scottum,
Qui fuit illustris genere, ast inlustrior actis :
Moribus in sanctis prefulgens lumine pacis,
Abbas eximius meritis et nomine dignus.
Ipse locum dictum summa cum pace gubernans,
Sed totum regnum solatus famine docto,
Tunc meruit Metis clara gaudere lucerna.

The *Vita Cadroae* tells in full the story of the saint's last days and death; and the story has a special interest since it brings this Celtic saint into direct contact with yet another member of the family of Otto the Great. In 951, five years after the foundation of Waulsort, Otto went on his first Italian expedition and brought home with him to Germany a foreign princess as his wife. Adelaide, whom he had married at Pavia, was the daughter of Rudolf II, king of Burgundy, and widow of Lothair who had claimed the title of king of Italy. For twenty-two years Adelaide was Otto's queen. When the

great king died, her first-born son, Otto II, succeeded to the throne. But mother and son differed on questions of policy, and their estrangement ended in an open quarrel in 976. Adelaide had supported Henry, duke of Bavaria, who led his army in open revolt against Otto in the summer of that year. He was defeated, and his fall brought down with him several other nobles on whom Adelaide had counted. The young Otto replaced them by men of his own party, and Adelaide, to mark her displeasure, left his German court. She withdrew, first to her brother's kingdom in Burgundy, then to Italy, where she was finally reconciled to her son in 980.[25] The *Vita Cadroae* tells us that Adelaide was passing through Lorraine on her way to Italy when she first heard of the holy abbot in Metz. Since Cadroe's death is commemorated on March 6, we may assume that the queen-mother was passing through Lorraine in the early months of 977. She was eager to see the holy man, and sent him word that he must appear at her court. Cadroe was reluctant to obey the command, for he felt that his end was near. But there was no escaping the summons; and he had to content himself with strict instructions that his body was to be brought back for burial in his own monastery, should he die away from the city. The end came as the saint had foretold. Adelaide gave Cadroe a royal welcome and insisted that he must stay for more than the four days for which the saint had bargained. He died on his way home to Metz, in the seventieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his pilgrimage. This last date seems to have been reckoned from his coming to Waulsort in 946. His former companion and fellow-abbot Malcalan was to die within the next twelve months.

Adelaide's interest in these Irish monks of Lorraine did not end with Cadroe's death. Sixteen years later we find the record of an imperial charter, issued by Adelaide's grandson Otto III on January 22, 992, in favour of the Irish monks at Metz and their Irish abbot Fingen.[26] Otto III was no more than a boy of eleven years at the date of this charter. His father Otto II had died suddenly in 983, leaving Adelaide as queen-mother and his young Greek widow Theophano as

co-regents of the Empire during his son's long minority. Theophano died in 991, leaving Adelaide as sole regent for the next few years. The charter of 992 states that the queen-mother had intervened personally on behalf of these Irish monks at Metz, and we may take it as certain that this new favour was entirely her own act. As in Otto I's charter of 946, this second grant confirms the Irishmen in their possession of the church of St. Symphorian, which had been entrusted to them, like the earlier churches of St. Clement and St. Felix, by Theoderic's successor, Adalbero II.

The anonymous poet of Metz seems to have composed his verses soon after the date of this royal charter. They end with the praises of Fingen and mention a papal charter of John XV as well as this charter of Otto III. The poet begins by praising this second Adalbero, who is even more famous than his predecessor and namesake :—

Alter Adalbero surrexit presul amenus . . .
Quem genuit mater perfelix, nempe Beatrix.
Primus Adalbero clarus, sed clarior iste :
Ipse prior carus, sed carior iste secundus.

As Adalbero I had taken pity on St. Clement, so Adalbero II takes pity on the ruined church of St. Symphorian :—

Iste virum sobrium Fingenum namque vocavit,
Quit fuit excellens meritis animique virilis,
Presbiter eximius, Scottorum semine cretus,
Kadroe consimilis, actis ac moribus equus :
Prudens ac iustus, necnon et corpore castus.
Hicque locum sancti construxit Symphoriani,
Atque gregem Christi lucratus pastor et abbas
Adscivit socios monachos tunc ac peregrinos.

The grants of Adalbero, John XV and Otto III are then commemorated in four closing verses :—

Presul Adalbero Fingeno contulit ipse
Namque locum dictum, firmatum duplice carta.
Primam nam cartam firmavit papa Joannes :
Rex magnus Otto dictavit et ipse secundam.

Adalbero II, who thus brought a new group of Irish monks to Metz, was a person of no mean importance in the reforming movement then transforming the Catholic life of Lorraine. He was a close kinsman of the dukes of Lorraine; and his nephew Godfrey was to make papal history by marrying Beatrice, widow of Boniface marquis of Tuscany; for the child of that marriage was the famous friend and protector of Gregory VII, Matilda countess of Tuscany. Adalbero's friendship for Irish pilgrims is attested expressly by his German biographer, whose *Vita* belongs to the early eleventh century.[27] "The Scots and other holy pilgrims were always very dear to him." Such patronage must have been of great value from a man who was bishop of Metz and kinsman of the ruling ducal family in Lorraine. The bishop's brother, Count Frederic, was to prove himself a less constant friend.

Another important bishop of Lorraine, St. Gerard of Toul (963-994), is named as a supporter of these Irish pilgrims and monks. Gerard's life was written by Widric, who had been abbot of Toul during his episcopate; and we read in this contemporary *Vita* [28]: "Moreover he collected no small crowd of Greeks and Scots, and supported this mixed people of many tongues at his own expense. It was their custom to assemble daily in his chapel, at different altars, where they offered praise and supplications to God after the manner of their fathers (*more patrio*)." The presence of Greek priests in Central Europe is less surprising when we remember that the Empire was ruled by a Greek princess in these very years. Theophano's influence must have done much to foster sympathy for the Greek liturgy of the Eastern Church in this newly-restored German Empire of the West. But it is pleasant to find Irish monks celebrating Mass according to the ancient Celtic rite in the same chapel of the bishop of Toul. Small wonder that the Irishmen lamented Gerard's death. For we read in the *Vita Gerardi* [29]: "When the bishop had spent forty-one glorious years, three weeks and three days in his episcopate, being full of days he departed this life on April 23, 994. One of the Scots whom he supported, a man of good repute, rising at dawn went through the streets of the

city lamenting and crying out and warning the people that their lord and father the bishop would soon be taken from this life. He claimed that this had been revealed to him in a vision by the Lord. All were grieved at these sorrowful tidings, but the sad event bore witness to the Scot's prophecy."

Metz and Toul were not the only centres of Irish monastic life in Lorraine and the Rhineland at this time. We shall see that Fingen was summoned from Metz to Verdun soon after 992, there to restore the church of St. Vannes (St. Vitus) as he had already restored the church of St. Symphorian. Meanwhile two other Irish communities had been founded in the archiepiscopal city of Cologne. Marianus Scotus (Moel Brigte) began his eccentric career as a monk in the Irish community of St. Martin at Cologne (1056-8), and he tells us what little we know of the Irish monks in this city.[30] Bruno, who had been the first friend and patron of the Irishmen in Germany, does not seem to have introduced any of their communities into his own episcopal see. His successor Gero brought Irish monks to the church of St. Martin in 975; and another monastic church of Cologne, St. Pantaleon, came into their possession at some unknown date before the end of the tenth century. Under Archbishop Heribert (999-1021) we find an Irish abbot named Elias ruling the two communities of St. Martin and St. Pantaleon and enjoying a reputation for great sanctity in the city. His name occurs as one of a group of scholars who borrowed books from the monastery of St. Peter in the early eleventh century.[31] The list which contains his name as a borrower contains another interesting entry, though here unfortunately the borrower's name has been scratched out. This unknown student had taken two Bibles, three copies of Virgil, two of Lucan and three of Priscian. The list suggests a schoolmaster: was he perhaps an Irish monk? But Elias did not allow his love of learning to interfere with his zeal for strict religious discipline. Marianus Scotus tells us that the abbot ordered a fine book to be burnt because it had been copied without leave.[32]

If we attempt a general view of these Scoto-Irish founda-

tions towards the end of the tenth century, it is plain that this revival of Celtic monasticism had made great progress in fifty years. Waulsort, one of the earliest foundations, seems to have passed out of Irish or Scottish hands by this date and we know nothing of St. Michael in Thiérache after Malcalan's death in 978. But Irish monks controlled the three churches of St. Clement, St. Felix and St. Symphorian in Metz, the two churches of St. Martin and St. Pantaleon in Cologne, and the church of St. Vannes in Verdun. Irish pilgrims were also at home in the city of Toul, and it is probable that they were well-known figures in many other cities of the Rhineland. Marianus Scotus, who ended his days as an *inclusus* at Mainz, had got himself walled up as an *inclusus* in Fulda in 1059. We know from his own narrative that he had been preceded here by another Irish *inclusus* named Animchad ; and he names one or two others in his Chronicle.[33] And what of a great centre like Péronne, which had once been famous as *Peronna Scotorum* ? How far had the older traditions of Irish missionaries and monks survived the troubled years of the last Carolingian rulers ?

Otto III died in 1002. His death marks the end of a dynasty that had shown great favour to these Irish pilgrims for more than fifty years. His successor was Henry II, a former duke of Bavaria. Henry and his wife Kunigunda are to-day venerated as canonised saints, and they did immense work for the reform, not only of German monasteries but also of many German episcopal sees. But Henry II looked to Cluny for his standards of Benedictine observance, and his visit to the great Burgundian abbey in 1014 was a signal mark of his imperial favour. Indeed the saintly Emperor went so far as to dedicate the sceptre, orb and crown which had been used at his own coronation in Rome some months before his visit. A new policy was making itself felt within the great abbey at this time. The fifth abbot Odilo (994-1049), who was a born statesman and organiser, was responsible for the final codification of the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*.[34] These customs of Cluny were enforced in all abbeys and priories subject to the abbot's direct control. But they could also

e used as a type of monastic observance according to which ther monasteries, not definitely subject to Cluny's abbot, ould be invited to reform their monastic traditions. Henry II eems to have favoured this latter course, and most of the great nonasteries of Lorraine and the Rhineland adapted their bservance to the customs of Cluny without sacrificing their ocal independence. Most important as a result of this deberate policy was the fact that these German monasteries emained subject to local episcopal control, whilst Cluny and its ountless subject priories were exempt from episcopal control nd subject only to papal jurisdiction.

It can hardly be a chance coincidence that we first hear f a conflict between the Irish traditions of Metz, Verdun and Cologne and the less austere but more successful Cluniac ustoms in the early years of Henry II's reign. Our first glimpse of the new situation comes from Verdun, where Fingen had been invited to restore the church of St. Vannes some years before 1004. Our knowledge of Fingen's last days comes to us from the *Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium*, an episcopal chronicle of Verdun which was composed in various sections and at various dates.[35] The period from 940-1047 was compiled by a monk of St. Vannes towards the middle of the eleventh century, and gives us a very detailed and trustworthy account of Richard, a famous abbot of St. Vannes who ruled the monastery from 1004-46.

Richard had been a prominent canon of Rheims in the first years of the century and had there come in touch with Count Frederic, brother of Adalbero II, the bishop of Metz. The two men decided to abandon the world and enter some poor monastery where they might serve God in obscurity. It was most probably through Adalbero that they heard of Fingen's small community at Verdun, and they presented themselves as candidates for admission to this monastery. The *Gesta* tells us that Fingen had no more than seven Irish monks in his community, who were living in great poverty. Richard and Frederic could not have chosen a more suitable house for their purpose ; but their day-dreams of poverty and humility were shattered by the experiences of religious

life as it was lived in St. Vannes. Both the *Gesta* and a later *Chronicon Virdunense* agree that Fingen was a man of great sanctity (*magnae sanctitatis vir*). But his church was very poor, the monastic buildings were inadequate, and the religious observance was not to the liking of these two distinguished novices (*parum laudabilis conversatione religiosa*). Perhaps the discipline was lax, though the abbot was holy; perhaps the Irish way of life in a small monastery lacked splendour and dignity. Richard and Frederic lost little time in deciding that God was not calling them to religious life in these surroundings, and they set out for Cluny to consult the famous abbot Odilo. Odilo heard their tale and told them to go back to St. Vannes. Cluny needed no help, he said; but there was plainly much that they could do to help the monks of St. Vannes. They need have no fear in joining the small community: their example might help to produce better results.

Richard and Frederic went back from Cluny to St. Vannes fortified by these wise counsels, and this time they seem to have made their monastic profession under Fingen. Time went on, and there was no sign of any change in the customs of their fellow-monks. They had hoped to win them to other ways, but in vain. Once more the two distinguished converts decided that God was calling them to some other religious house, and this time they made secret plans for an irregular flight. By good luck for them and for the monastery, a holy woman was living as an *inclusa* in the city of Verdun. She had not been known to leave her cell for many long years; but, by some means human or divine, she came to know that the two monks were planning a flight. What was she to do? Was God calling her to action? She prayed for light and then took the bold step of leaving her cell, to the amazement of all who saw her walk the streets, and sought an interview with Fingen at St. Vannes. She told him what she knew, and begged the abbot to bind these two monks by their vows of obedience and stability. This Fingen did, and the two would-be fugitives had no other course but to obey.

Fingen's death, which happened some three months later,

put an end to their uncertainties. Richard was elected abbot in place of the Irishman and ruled the monastery for the next forty years and more. The *Gesta Episcoporum* and *Chronicon Virdunense* have much to tell of his work for religious life in his monastery. Benefactions came pouring in from all quarters, for the abbot and Count Frederic had many wealthy friends. One story is particularly noteworthy, since it illustrates the change that came over the community, once Richard had replaced Fingen.[36] He and his subject the former Count Frederic paid a state visit to the court of Henry II. Frederic, as a kinsman of the duke of Lorraine, was given a place of honour in the great assembly, whilst Richard, though abbot, was placed much lower among the guests. When Frederic saw where his abbot was sitting, he took up his foot-stool, passed down the hall in front of all the guests, and sat at the feet of his father in God. Great was the edification of all present, and many were the gifts that came to the abbey where so fervent a monk was known to reside. Poor Fingen would never have found his way to the Emperor's court, nor would any of his Irish monks have had such an opportunity of impressing the world with their profound humility. But God's Providence was now preparing a new life for the community of St. Vannes. When Richard died in 1046, his monastery could compare with many of its Cluniac rivals in the splendour of its church, the extent of its landed estates and its exact religious observance according to the customs of Cluny.

Much the same conflict of two traditions is apparent in a story which Marianus Scotus tells of the Irish community at St. Pantaleon in Cologne.[37] Here Elias was abbot for most of Richard's life at St. Vannes, and his fame for sanctity was such that Archbishop Heribert would have no other holy person at his bedside when he lay dying in 1021. Heribert's successor was a famous reforming prelate, Archbishop Piligrim, who ruled the see for fifteen years (1021-36).[38] The new archbishop was an ardent advocate of the customs of Cluny, which he introduced in all the monastic houses within his archdiocese. The two Irish communities of St. Martin and St. Pantaleon were an exception to this rule, and the archbishop complained

that their discipline was too strict and their religious observance too severe. So Marianus Scotus tells the story, and he had spent two years as a monk at St. Martin soon after these events. Elias and his monks refused to alter their discipline, and Piligrim, who was about to leave Cologne for the Emperor's court, threatened that when he came home again he would leave neither Elias nor any of his Irish monks in St. Pantaleon. Marianus tells the story under the year 1036, and it would thus seem that the incident happened under Conrad II, who succeeded to the imperial throne on Henry's death in 1024. Piligrim left the city soon after this threat, and Elias was left with his small Irish community. "They made a bargain," Marianus tells us, "that if Christ was in them as pilgrims, this Bishop Piligrim would never come back alive to Cologne from the Emperor's court. And so the Lord fulfilled, and Elias ruled his two monasteries." Piligrim died in August 1036 and was succeeded by Herimann, who was perhaps wise enough to leave the Irish monks alone.

That is as far as our extant texts take us ; but it is obvious that men like Fingen and Elias were fighting a losing battle against the triumphant forces of Cluniac Benedictinism. Fifty years after the death of Piligrim, another Marianus, whose true name seems to have been Muiredach macc Robertaig, founded a new Irish community of Benedictine monks at Ratisbon.[39] That foundation is later than Lanfranc's intervention in the affairs of the Irish Church, and the main purpose of this essay has been to discuss the possibility of other influences outside Canterbury as causes of the Irish reforming movement which took shape in the last quarter of the eleventh century. What has been said should be sufficient to prove that Ireland was much more in contact with continental reformers than seems to have been understood by most of our recent historians—though Lanigan, writing more than a hundred years ago, had a wider and sounder view of the problem.

This essay has already out-passed its due length, and it is only possible to indicate the existence of one last problem. How far was the sudden appearance of Irish *inclusi* at Fulda

and Mainz in the middle of this same eleventh century a consequence of the Irish failure to maintain Celtic traditions of asceticism in the face of a more moderate and (from their point of view) more worldly-minded monastic observance? Marianus Scotus was no ordinary *inclusus*. His passion for history, and especially for chronology, is proof sufficient of that fact. Why then did he not find his true vocation in monastic life as it had been practised by Cadroe, Malcalan, Fingen and Elias? His first choice seems to have been monastic life in Cologne; but he abandoned this type of asceticism for the more austere vocation of an *inclusus*, taking as his model the Irish *inclusus*, Animchad of Fulda, whose heroic virtues he has praised in a curious passage of his *Chronicle*. German scholars have made fun of this Irish student, who had himself walled up in a cell outside a church as a preparation for writing his history of the world.[40] There is some truth in the jest. Was Marianus a *moine manqué*? Would he have found his true vocation under Cadroe and Elias, studying the old books in their monasteries and satisfying his desire for austere penance under their traditional Celtic interpretation of Benedict's rule? AUBREY GWYNN

NOTES

[1] Louis Gougaud: *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (1932), p. 398.

[2] I am very much indebted to Dr. James F. Kenney for his most useful collection of literary references in his *Sources for the Early Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), pp. 605-21.

[3] There is a full account of this reforming movement in A. Fliche: *La Réforme Grégorienne* (2 vols: Louvain, 1925), vol. I. More recently Dr. Z. N. Brooke has given a very useful summary in his text-book *A History of Europe*: 911-1198 (London, 1938), pp. 115-24.

[4] A. Hauck: *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1920) III, pp. 41-46.

[5] Printed in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: *Scriptores* (1841), IV, 254-75. Most of the texts quoted in this essay can only be found in the original folio edition of the *Monumenta*: I use the abbreviation *M.G.H. SS.* for these volumes.

[6] Vat. MS. Regin. 421, quoted by Kenney, *Sources*, p. 610.

[7] Flodoard: *Annales*, a. 947 (*M.G.H. SS.* III, p. 394). Richer repeats Flodoard's narrative of these two synods in his *Historiae* (*M.G.H. SS.* III, p. 602-3), with the same names of attending prelates.

[8] Hontheim: *Prodrom. Hist. Trevir.* III, p. 975, quoted by Kenney, *loc. cit.* The title *episcopus conversus* is most unusual.

[9] Printed in *M.G.H.*: *Diplomata Regum et Impp. Germ.*, I, pp. 160-1.

[10] E. Sackur: 'Der Rechtsstreit der Klöster Waulsort u. Hastière' in *Zeits. f. Geschichtswiss.* II, pp. 341-89: quoted by W. Wattenbach: *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1894), II, p. 153.

[11] Printed by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.* (ed. 1866) April III, pp. 807-14.

[12] Printed in *M.G.H. SS.* XIV, pp. 505-41. See also Joseph P. Fuhrmann, O.S.B.: *The Irish Medieval Monasteries on the Continent* (Washington, 1927), pp. 73-78.

[13] Printed first by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. 494-501; then with a better text, by the Bollandists in *Acta SS.* (ed. 1866) March I, pp. 468-81.

[14] In Colgan's copy of the text the name was given as *Ousmann*, but the Bollandists give *Riemann* or *Ousmann*: the name is evidently German, but has been wrongly copied in the text.

[15] W. F. Skene: *Celtic Scotland* I, p. 360.

[16] King Constantine's appeal is supported by a holy abbot named *Mailedarius*.

[17] The king's name is given as *Dovenaldus*: cf. Matthew Paris, a. 946. Donald accompanies the saint 'usque Loidam civitatem quae est confinium Normannorum atque Cumbrorum.'

[18] The *Vita Cadroae* and the *Chronicon Walciodorense* spell the name as *Machalanus*; but the form *Malcalanus* is given in an evidently contemporary addition to Flodoard's *Annales* (see below). It is nowhere stated that Malcalanus had accompanied Cadroe from Scotland. He first appears in the *Vita* after the visit to Péronne: and the continuator of Flodoard calls him *Hibernicus*.

[19] This detail is not given in the *Vita Cadroae*, but is taken from the *Chronicle*, which may be considered trustworthy for such information.

[20] The author of the *Chronicle*, writing in the twelfth century, is at some pains to minimise this dependence of Waulsort on Metz.

[21] For these details I have followed Fuhrmann, *op. cit.* p. 77; who quotes L. Lahaye: *Etude sur l'Abbaye de Waulsort* (Liège, 1890).

[22] There is a precise notice of this death in the anonymous continuation of Flodoard's *Annales* (*M.G.H. SS.* III, p. 407-8): "Anno 978 vir domini Malcallanus natione Hibernicus in vigilia sancti Vincentii levitae et martiris vitam transitoriam . . . deseruit . . . qui praefatus abbas in corpore humatus quiescit in ecclesia beati Michaelis archangeli."

[23] Printed by the Bollandists in *Acta SS.* (ed. 1866) Feb. III, pp. 690-715; and reprinted by Migne, *P.L.* 137, 241-310.

[24] Brussels, Bibl. Roy, MS 10710, ff. 175-178: the last page of the MS. has been printed by Dümmler in *Neues Archiv* V (1880), pp. 433-7.

[25] W. von Giesebrecht: *Gesch. der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (1881), I, pp. 577-8.

[26] Printed in M.G.H.: *Diplomata Regg, et Impp. Germ.* II. ii (1893), p. 493.

[27] Printed in *M.G.H. SS.* IV, pp. 658-72; and reprinted by Migne, *P.L.* 139. 1553-76.

[28] Printed by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.* (ed. 1866) April III, pp. 206-13; and (in part) in *M.G.H. SS.* IV, pp. 490-505.

[29] *M.G.H. SS.* IV, p. 503. The text gives *quadraginta et uno annis*, but this is an error: the true figure is 31.

[30] For Marianus Scotus, see the full bibliography collected by Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 614-6.

[31] This list, dating from XI s., has been edited by Dümmler from MS. 64 in the Amplonianum at Erfurt: *Zeitschr. f. Deutsch. Alt.* XIX, p. 466 (quoted by Wattenbach, op. cit. I, p. 263, note 2; and p. 361).

[32] Marianus Scotus, *Chronicon*, a. 1042 (Migne, *P.L.* 147. 784).

[33] Marianus Scotus, a, 1043; 1057; 1059.

[34] Joan Evans: *Monastic Life at Cluny* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 17-24. See also Dr. Rose Graham's essay 'The Relation of Cluny to some other Movements of Monastic Reform,' reprinted in her *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (S. P. C. K., 1929). Dom David Knowles gives an excellent account of monastic discipline at Cluny under Odilo and Hugh in his new volume *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 145-150.

[35] Printed in *M.G.H. SS.* IV, pp. 36-51. A later *Chronicon Virdunense* is printed in *M.G.H. SS.* VIII, pp. 288-502. The narrative is very much more elaborate in style, but adds nothing new to the earlier *Gesta*. On p. 368 there is the statement: "Post quem raptus est de coenobio sancti Felicis Mettensis domnus Fingenius Scottorum progenie oriundus . . . cuius adventum peregrinationem et conversionem qui plenius nosse desiderat in vita Teoderici eximii Mettensis episcopi scire potest." This *Vita Teoderici* is no longer extant. For a full account of Richard of St. Vannes, see A. Hauck: *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands* III, pp 467-81.

[36] *Chron. Virdun.*, p. 372.

[37] Marianus Scotus, *Chron.* a. 1036: Migne, *P.L.* 147. 783. The death of Elias is recorded a. 1042. He was succeeded by another Irishman named Majolus.

[38] A. Hauck: *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands* III, p. 482.

[39] See Professor Binchy's account of this movement in STUDIES, June 1929.

[40] Wattenbach: *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* II, p. 115.

RACIAL GROUPS IN CANADA

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

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A PASSENGER on an Atlantic liner to Canada will notice printed directions in a score of foreign languages, and if he is travelling third class in an ordinary season he will certainly meet members of many different nationalities from the Continent of Europe. There are parts of Canada which can show something like the " melting pot " conditions of the United States, though this must not be taken to suggest that there is any hectic haste or much special activity to " Canadianize " the immigrants. There used to be much more of attempted assimilation under forced draft than there is now, but it has declined for a number of reasons : there has not been any great immigration in the last ten years, the results of " Canadianizing " efforts were not proportionate to the expense, the efforts at Protestantising immigrants who should be Catholics were particularly discouraging, there has been a lack of money since the economic collapse which began in 1929, and moreover there is a feeling that immigrants Canadianize themselves by the second generation if they merely attend as children at a Canadian school.

To some extent, it may be, the recent complacency regarding immigration problems is making a virtue of necessity. English-speaking Canada would have paid a high price to get British immigrants of the agricultural class if they were obtainable ; but, what with the advance of industrialization in Britain and the fall in the birth rate, the British agricultural immigrant was not to be found for love or money. The British industrial worker was not offered any assistance to move to Canada, for the Canadian Labour Movement looks coldly on immigration ; and before the depression started in 1919 the British industrial worker, sure of his dole at home, was not inclined to incur the risks and expense of migration to a Dominion

to better his fortune. From the end of the World War unti 1929 the British immigrants to Canada were about 50,00 a year, but this figure was only reached by Government assisted passages; it was only a third of the figure before the World War when immigrants paid their own way, and it was less than the number of Continental immigrants in 1929 though these received no assisted passages.

The French-Canadians have not welcomed immigration of any sort, British or Continental; and their reason, no doubt has been that they were confident of their own power to populate this country by natural increase within a reasonable time. If it were not for the immigrants from all sources during the last sixty years, the French-Canadians would now outnumber the British in Canada. Even immigration would not save the British racial predominance if it was only the immigration from the British Isles, but the Continental Europeans who come to Canada tend to become English speaking, not French-speaking, and it is chiefly by the prevalence of its language that the comparative strength of each race is estimated.

The division between English-speaking and French speaking is far more important in Canada than any other racial question. I do not know that it would make very much difference to anybody if the French, who are now the minority, became the majority; but perhaps it is only natural that the English-speaking should strive to retain their advantage for what it is worth. The difficulties do not come from one race being unfair to the other; they come simply from the fact that the two races are different. Practically every big religious order in Canada has now divided into provinces on the basis of language; and the English-speaking religious, it should be remembered, are mostly of Irish stock; they love and admire the French, but they are not comfortable living in a French house, with French customs and cookery. The French-Canadians may appear to be hyper-sensitive about their language and nationality, but it should be remembered that they are preserving their identity against tremendous odds—against the forces of the whole American Continent

the American films, the American radio, the American magazines and other influences whose medium of expression is the English language.

However, it is not my purpose to deal with the English-speaking and French-speaking elements in this article, but with those foreign-speaking immigrants who are courteously called New Canadians, and I shall have regard principally to the Catholic interest in them. There should be a word of recognition of the descendents of the aboriginals of this country, the Indians and the Eskimos who together numbered 128,890 at the last Census in 1931. More than half of them are Catholics, and the devotion with which they are cared for by missionaries, priests and nuns, mostly in the Arctic North, is one of the glories of the Church in this our age. There are Chinese scattered through Canada, especially in the big towns where they establish laundries and restaurants. There are several streets in Toronto where I live which constitute a regular Chinatown and numerous banks have notices in Chinese, which shows that Chinese customers are considered worth cultivating. According to the Census there were 46,519 Chinese in Canada in 1931. There has been a Catholic Chinese Mission for many years in Vancouver, and this year one was established in Toronto. The Baptists have had a Chinese mission here for forty years. The Census gave the number of Japanese in Canada as 23,342, and immigration is prohibited. Most of the Japanese are in colonies by themselves on the Pacific Coast, and some people consider their presence alarming, and that their numbers are far in excess of the official figures and that immigration takes place despite the law. It is a question which the Government does not care to ventilate, for it does not want to have any trouble with Japan. The City of Vancouver has a Japanese Catholic Mission.

Now to speak of those to whom the term New Canadian is applied—immigrants from the Continent of Europe. In 1871 the British and French together constituted 92 per cent. of the population of Canada, but in 1931 they were only 80 per cent. At the present time we may roughly say that the British (including Irish) are 50 per cent. of the population,

the French Canadians are 30 per cent. and the other races total 20 per cent. When the Census figures for 1941 are published, the British will undoubtedly have fallen below 50 per cent. because their birth rate is appallingly low. Thus among the British at the last census there were 16 per 1,000 of their population under 1 year, while the French had 25 per 1,000. The French with only 28 per cent. of the population had as many births as the British with 52 per cent.

Census figures apply to "racial origins" and they show that, after British and French, the Germans are the largest group in Canada—with 473,544 or 4.56 of the total population. This did not include the Austrians (48,639), but it must not be assumed that those of German racial origin are all recent immigrants. There were more Germans proportionately in 1871 than in 1931, and the old-established Germans are now thoroughly Canadian. Nazi elements were never strong enough to show themselves very plainly in Canada. Priests working among Germans who have come here during the last 20 years told me that these Germans, while not having a Nazi ideology, were proud of the signs of the recovery of German power under Hitler; but the descendants of those Germans who were in Canada before the World War are no more pro-German than those of the purest British blood.

Speaking of ideologies I may mention an interesting fact which has not often appeared in print, but which is known among experienced priests. The Italian immigrant was one of the quickest to adapt himself to a new country. He might love the sunny skies under which he was born and he might be saving to return and spend his old age in his native village, but he was singularly free from political nationalism. He got on very well with priests of any nationality provided he could speak their language or they could speak his, and he made no exigent demands on the Church to have his national idiosyncracies regarded. Fascist propaganda, however, has made a difference; it has laboured to increase Italian consciousness among the immigrants, and it is not indifferent to the nationality and the politics or lack of politics of the pastors who have the Italian flocks in their care. In one way at least

Fascist influence has been good. The Italian people, not being accustomed to being called upon for voluntary contributions for the building and maintenance of churches, have not shown a spirit of self-help in that regard when coming to Canada. Fascist influence in Canadian cases reported to me have spurred them to make efforts they have not made before, and Bishops have found episcopal burdens lightened accordingly.

After the German the next largest " foreign " racial group is the Scandinavian, which includes the Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. There is no doubt that Canadian immigration policy has been directed to favour Protestants and not Catholics. This has been stated by outstanding Catholic authorities who knew what they were talking about. I myself as a newspaper reporter, for many years in constant touch with governmental agencies, saw how the immigration departments directed their efforts to Protestant populations in Europe. They had a solid reason for being more active in the Six Counties than in Éire, for the Empire Settlement Act with its assisted passages applied to the former and not to the latter, but in the Six Counties they were careful to avoid taking those they called " Sinn Féiners," and if a man was a Catholic he was judged to be a Sinn Féiner unless he could prove he wasn't ! The official attitude is stated with tolerable candour in a note on " Racial Origins of Immigrants " which annually appears in the Canada Year Book :—

> Where there is any considerable immigration into a democratic country, the racial and linguistic composition of the immigrants is of great importance. Canadians prefer that immigrants should be of a readily assimilable type, already identified by race or language with one or other of the two great races now inhabiting this country and prepared for the duties of Canadian citizenship. Since the French are not, to any great extent, an emigrating people, this means in practice that the great bulk of the preferable settlers are those who speak the English language—those coming from the United Kingdom or the United States. Next in order of readiness of assimilation are the Scandinavians, Dutch and Germans, who readily learn English and are already acquainted with the working of democratic institutions. Settlers from Southern and Eastern Europe, however desirable from a

purely economic point of view, are less readily assimilated, and the Canadianizing of the people who have come to Canada from these regions in the present century is a problem both in the agricultural Prairie Provinces and in the cities of the East.

Nevertheless there were 225,113 Ukrainians, practically equal to the number of Scandinavians, in Canada in the Census year 1931. The Ukrainians are chiefly from Galicia and Ruthenia, which belonged to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the majority are Catholics of the Greek-Ruthenian rite. They began to be imported in large numbers during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when labour was needed for railway construction and abundant land was available for farmers. The Ukrainians are a hardy and prolific race, and they soon began to be counted in their scores of thousands. The Dominion Government which brought them over took no interest in their education, still less in their religion; they had no priests of their own and the few priests there were in Western Canada at that time were nearly all French-Canadian. The French-Canadian clergy did not know the Ukrainian language, and they were of the Latin rite; young French-Canadian priests were willing to learn Ukrainian and to go to Galicia for the purpose and to adopt the Greek rite. But the Ukrainians could not be favourably influenced by French-Canadians. For one thing the Ukrainians looked on the Poles as their hereditary enemies, and France and Poland had been ancient allies—therefore French-Canadians were under suspicion! Moreover, in Western Canada it was the English-speaking Canadians who were in the majority, who held the economic and political power, and the Ukrainians were more disposed to throw in their lot with the English than the French.

The Protestant churches of Canada, especially the Presbyterian, saw that this huge and growing foreign population in the West constituted a first-class social, national and religious problem. They mobilized their resources to provide for the social welfare, as they regarded it, of the immigrants. They called their work "Canadianization" and obtained very generous financial support. To Catholics the movement

suggested proselytism, but it was no use finding fault with what Protestants were doing and not doing anything themselves. Everything had to be done for the Ukrainians and other New Canadians in the West. They had to have priests, churches, schools, convents, hospitals, orphanages and other institutions for their religious and social needs. Near the time of the beginning of the World War the English-speaking archdioceses of Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton had been created. Experience convinced the Church that the Ukrainians in Canada needed Ukrainian priests. This policy of providing a Ukrainian clergy had difficulties of its own, one of them being that among the Greek Catholics of the Ukraine married men may be ordained priests. However, the Church adopted the policy not only of providing Ukrainian priests but of putting them under a Ukrainian Bishop who had jurisdiction all over Canada. The Bishop lives in Winnipeg, and there are 350 parishes and missions in his Dominion-wide diocese with 88 clergy both secular and regular. There are also religious communities of Ukrainian women conducting hospitals and orphanages. As far as appearances go, the Greek rite is here to stay in Canada among the Ukrainians; and the official Catholic Directory, published in the United States, gives the number of Greek Catholics in Canada as 300,000. The law of celibacy is strictly enforced among the Greek Catholic clergy, regular and secular, in Canada.

From the Catholic point of view the Ukrainian situation in Canada is now fairly stabilized; we know what we hold and may expect to keep. For many years, however, the situation was critical; there were enormous defections from the Faith and the future appeared to be full of menace. In 1910 Archbishop Szepticky of Lemberg (Lwow), now (according to reports) a prisoner in the hands of the Soviet, visited the Ukrainian settlements in the Canadian West. After his return to Galicia he wrote :—

> Will the coming generation remain Catholic in Canada, or will it become Protestant or schismatic? It is common knowledge that the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) are as a whole an inert body not yet decided for certain one way or the other. . . . The future of the Ruthenian

will be in the hands of him who will know how to stir up and direct a great social movement, at once national and religious, which will carry along the whole Ruthenian population of this or the next generation one way or the other. Scant indeed will be the portion left to the vanquished. For to follow the current—there you have the whole mentality, almost more than one can believe, of all Orientals and of the Ruthenians in particular.

The Archbishop made reference to a Protestant College in Winnipeg which gave scholarships to Ukrainians to train them as school teachers and make them agents for Protestant missions. In 1920 Catholics countered this plan to train Ukrainian Protestant leaders by opening a boarding school for Ukrainian boys at Yorkton. Christian Brothers were the teachers and the finances were provided by the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada. The financial burden remained heavy on the Extension Society, but the school was a success from the start in its work of training Ukrainian Catholic leaders. Within a few years the school was able to point to its graduates appointed as school teachers, attending University and entering the Seminary and religious novitiates.

Yet those years after the World War were full of anxiety. In July 1924 the Archbishops of St. Boniface and Winnipeg, one French-speaking, the other English-speaking, addressed a letter to the Canadian Hierarchy in which they said: "It is no exaggeration to say that the most zealous efforts on the part of the Ruthenian Bishop and clergy, coupled with the sympathetic interest and generous assistance of the Latin Catholics, will not avail to keep a large number of these people in the fold."

In 1926 the Archbishop of Winnipeg, Most Rev. Alfred A. Sinnott, still happily with us, writing on the immigrant problem in the West and looking back 25 years, said:—

> Much was attempted and for the moment much done, but the task was colossal, the obstacles were many, and in the end little has been accomplished. If the Catholics of the Greek-Ruthenian rite constituted a problem on their coming into this country 25 years ago, they are a problem still and, indeed, a problem in an intensified form. The situation today has all the elements of a tragedy. We are witnesses of defections from the Faith on a scale that approaches national apostasy.

A person high in authority in the Ruthenian clergy recently made the assertion that, were it possible to secure a sufficient number of priests, at least 50 per cent. of the people could still be saved to the Faith.

The words of Archbishop Sinnott were written in connection with an appeal on behalf of the Catholic Church Extension Society, which has done most of the work of collecting money among English-speaking Catholics in the East to save the Faith of foreign-speaking Catholics in the West. The economic collapse of 1929 deprived the Protestant societies of much of their resources, and it reduced the new immigration to a very thin stream. Catholic effort has never flagged and the Ukrainian religious communities have done most fruitful work, so that we can think that the crisis is passed and a great part of the Greek Catholics saved for the Faith. Protestantism, despite lavish financial expenditures and much excellent social-welfare work, never made any successful religious appeal to the average Ukrainian. There is not a Ukrainian congregation in Canada strong enough to support a pastor.

On the other hand Communism has become a real force among the Ukrainians, although Soviet Russia lost favour because of its oppression of the Nationalists in the Ukraine. For the present Communism is suffering eclipse in Canada, but it would be rash to assume it will not reappear. The Ukrainians are among the poor people in Canada ; they are the victims of the economic system, and those who are farmers have as hard a time as those who are in the industrial proletariate. Much is said about the Ukrainians being a gifted and artistic people, and I do not doubt that they are, but priests with experience tell me that they have a materialistic outlook ; they are very keen about getting on in this world. Whether they brought this materialistic temper with them from Eastern Europe or acquired it in Canada I do not know.

The Ukrainians have set the largest and most difficult of the immigration problems for the Church in Canada, but they are only one among many nationalities. I am writing in the City of Toronto which is very British, very Tory and very Protestant. Yet in this city there are three Catholic churches for the Ukrainians, three for Italians, two for Poles and one

each for Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Lithuanians and Maltese. In practically every case the priests are of the nationality of the people, though possibly born in North America. Thus what is called the Slovak church in Toronto is not really their church at all ; it is the chapel of the Jesuit Seminary of Philosophy and the Slovak congregation is given the use of it on Sundays and some other times. The priest is of Slovak speech and family, but he was born and educated in the United States. He lives in a rented house.

All the large cities from Montreal to Vancouver have mixed populations like Toronto, usually more so. Often there are comparatively small centres with large foreign-speaking populations. In Toronto archdiocese, for example, there is the town of Welland with four Catholic parishes, one English-speaking, one French, one Hungarian and one Ukrainian. The mining districts of Northern Ontario are exceedingly polyglot in character, but the standard examples of mixed and foreign populations are in the West, especially Winnipeg. The slowing-down of immigration since 1929 has doubtless given Canada more opportunity to assimilate her newcomers from strange lands ; but as far as my personal experience goes, the assimilation does not appear to be difficult. The children of immigrants learn English in the streets and at school, they act as interpreters for their parents, and they are keen to become Canadians themselves. One can observe the ascent of the New Canadians in the better-class Catholic educational institutions. At one time practically all the names were Irish, Scots and English, then came German and Italian, and now there are Poles and Ukrainians graduating from our most select academies for young ladies. It may be that in parts of Canada with which I am not well acquainted personally the social and political problems presented by foreign elements are less tractable ; but if that is so, there is a conspiracy of silence about them. The present fashion among writers and speakers in Canada is to congratulate the Dominion on the contributions which it receives from Slav and Germanic newcomers.

HENRY SOMERVILLE

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LV

TO MAG SHAMHRADHÁIN, .i. Brian Breagh

1. Déanam ṙíoḋ mbunaiḋ a Ḃṙiain,
bíom maṙ aṙ ċuḃaiḋ go caoin,
toġaiḃ an malaiġ nduinn dúinn,
ná ḟalaiġ an ṙúil ġcuiṙṙ ġcaoiṁ.

2. Ná ḟalaiġ oṙainn t' uċt ġeal
a luċt ṁolaim óṙ ġaċ muḋ ;
ná ḟalaiġ an ġṙuaḋ ndeaṙġ daṁ
im leaṙġ do ġaḃ ṙnuaḋ na ṙuḃ.

3. Mo béal ṙeḋ béal tana dteann
maṙ a-déaṙ, a ṁala ṁall ;
teanntaṙ an coṙṙ ṙaḃán ṙiom,
a ḟoit ḟionn na ġcaḃán ġcam.

4. Taḃṙam comluiġe, a ċoṙṙ ṙaoṙ,
a ḟoit donnbuiḋe, daṙ ndíon,
daṙ ġciontaiḃ, a ċinn na mḂṙian ;
doḋ ṙiaṙ tiocṙaiḋ ṙinn aṙ ṙíoḋ.

5. Síoḋ dúṫṙaċta ġá luaḋ liom
ṙeḋ ġṙuaḋ n-úṙċoṙcṙa iṙ ġaċ am
ná can ṙṙiṫċealġa aċt ṙíoṙ ṙiom
ṙíoḋ do ċionn ṙiṫleaṙġa ṙann.

6. Sġuiṙium daṙ ndoiṙṙ, déanam ṙíoḋ,
i nḃaṙ ġcoim do-ġéanam ġlóṙ ;
ṙíoḋ anaṫlaṁ ní dual dúnn,
a ṙ-ḟuaġ úṙ ṁalaċḋuḃ móṙ.

7. Aḋḃaṙ t'ḟeiṙġe id ṙíoġṫaiġ ṙiom
ná liomṫaiṙ aṙ ġceiṙḋne id ċeann ;
iṙ eaḋ do loit aṙ n-aoiḋ ann
ġan ṙann doit aṙ ġaċ laoiḋ leam.

8. Ḃíom maṙ do ḃáṁaṙ, a Ḃṙiain,
maṙ naċ ġáḃaḋ ṙíoḋ ṙe ṙaoiḋ ;
uaim comainn iṙ dleaṙḋa dúinn
ḟeaṙḋa ṙeṫ ṙúil ġcoṁmaill ġcaoin.

9. Ag ro teagorg uaimre ort
agus na fluaigre ar ar fliocht:
do biodbaid dá mbead fet uct
leag an luct ir iongain t'iocht.

10. Tú fear a leacta ar an fleid
'r gach fear ag teachta dod doig;
do comarroinn gan muinn mir
ón trolorloinn rin guirm gloin.

11. A Briain Meig Amradáin óig,
gan a mballgabáil ní bíd
bean tre tláithe a gort do géig,
léig a fnáithe gan tocht thíd.

12. Suirge re bréirne, a barr lí,
na lann ngéirthe ar guirme gné
leat toirthear an tíre i dtaoi;
mine re mnaoi ir oirthear é.

13. Toirtheach duid gach aball fionn
do druid gach abann re hall;
fochonnbrar ón fionnbraon t'fonn
cocolligiar choll n-ionnlaog ann.

14. Toirtheach d'iarg na haibne uaib,
agus na dairge n-a ndiaid;
a hioth gá haithrom gon úir,
laochtrom dúib an bioth, a Briain.

15. Toirtheach gach mag uaine uaid,
a Guaire, tre ar gach fóid;
caillradán do chuid don Gréig
a Méig buig Amradán óig.

16. Sgathchoirda gach faithche, ir féach;
dathmoltha tairthe bar dtuath;
fionn gach oirear ir gach áth
do bliadh droigean ar cionn chuach.

17. Rioghda feol do baile a Briain,
ir a n-aire ar gach gceol gcaoin,
gearrthair meirgeadha gá mnáib,
dealbthair cláir deirggeala daoib.

18. Gabhainn ag déanamh arm n-ard,
Gabhainn d'fégadh cath ir ceard ;
Criche a gaol armfhlat ir ord,
Do mhaol colg bar ndaghrat ndearg.

19. Crannuigeadha bid id bhrug
Gá mbid mallugeadha ód mhod ;
Crann go n-ionnrma ar gach nglún ngeal,
Fleag fan dún fionnra ór gach fiar.

20. Cearda ann ag amladh óir
Agus fladhradh tall re dtaoib ;
Do bheicdearg nuamhoing do néim
Buabaill fréin re deighcearn daoib.

21. Macrad ag múnadh a gcon
Im dúnadh flatghlan na rud ;
T'eic ag a ngléar, a Bhriain bheag,
Feal ar gach ngréar biaid id bhrug.

22. Imirt brannaimh ir léir linn
Go déib clannaigh, a í Chuinn,
A Méig faoir Samradán feing,
Feinm re taoib dagbranán duinn.

23. Fir ag daigfeinm uma uair
Ag dula ar cairfeidm go ciuin,
Ar n-iomad i n-am an óil
Re hiomad óir na gcrann gciuil.

24. Iomad gach fíograidhe rut,
Miorbhaile iomad bar n-at,
Do léigeadh crú ba chlár mbreac
Bar lámh leat gan bú gan bhrat.

25. Rugair ó Sionainn creach chruaidh,
T'eac i ngach ionaim go héim ;
Ó chreic do fguir bláit, a Bhriain,
Biaid a fáit cruid go gach gcléir.

26. Go héirne do-cáid bar gcreach
Ir na héigme láim re loch ;
Doire fróill chorcra ór gach cat
Ag tocta a-mach ó bhróin boch.

27. Airge an mag ó moir a-mach
for go Clad na Cairge, a chaoid,
tre Mag neine fuairc bar fród,
teine mór bar gcuairt man gCaoi.

28. Cread Granard do luaidead lib,
ger lánard an fluaigead fin ;
i mearg t'eac do-geabta an groid
cread a Moig Teabta dod tig.

29. Ir tú Ó Duibne, a dearc glan,
ar fuirge 'r ar neart a-nor,
fear mar ar nDuibneine ar dear
cnear geal ar buingile bor.

30. Mar Coin Culainn do cnear bán,
ir clear an uball ag Aod,
boill dearga do gon do gruad,
fnuad Con na cearda ba caom.

31. Dealb Fiamain an fir nar fionn
bad miadail, a gil na nglonn,
dar lion fread breactruaille beann
don geal feang dearcuaine donn.

32. Mar maidm fréide ar cionn na gcread
fionn gac féine t'ainm a-mac,
a Fir Dia ar deirge cruc,
bruc feirge do-ciam man gcat.

33. A eolaig an dagbroit duinn,
a leomain do dagloit dreim,
a neim nathrac, a guin Goill,
a tuir a coill catrac Cuinn.

34. A cearcall teintide tréan,
a Deirgteine ar dearcmall gruad,
a bar corr d'fagaib go n-ór,
a tonn mór calaid ar cuan.

35. A Méig Amradán tre fonn
doire crannradán mad ceann ;
dá mbeire, a Bruain, goin ar Gall
fed crann biaid do troig i dteann.

Déanam

Translation

Let us make a lasting peace, O Brian, and be friends as we should ; lift thy dark brow to me, turn not from me thy full gentle eye.

. Hide not from me thy bright breast, its burden (of thoughts, etc.) I approve beyond measure ; turn not from me thy ruddy cheek that has berries' hue around it.

. O stately brow, press my lips to thy delicate lips as I ask thee ; let thy fair form be close to me, O fair hair of curling ringlets.

. Let our contentions be reconciled, O chief of Brians, O thou of noble form and bright yellow hair, my guardian ; I will thus come to serve thee in peace.

. When I make a willing peace to last for ever with thy fresh-red cheek, speak no mere soothing words to me, but assure me that I have won pardon by my rushing verse.

. Hoping for thy protection I will say : " Let us put aside our wrath and be at peace ; no half-hearted peace should be ours, O great dark-browed young prince."

. Do not have me sharpening verse against thee and rousing thy wrath in thy castle ; what lessened my favour there before was my not having a verse for thee in every poem.

. Let us be as we used to be, O Brian ; 'tis always safe to be friends with a poet, and 'tis my duty now to make a compact with thy proud kindly eye.

. Advice to thee from me and our race's hosts is this : " When foes oppose thee, crush them (?), but show thy mercy (thereafter)."

. When men yield to thee, thou lettest them share thy feast ; that thy neighbours take no rash liberties with thee is the doing of thy bright blue flashing lance.

. From every branch—they put forth ever fresh growths—take its fruit while it is yet soft, O young Brian Mág Shamhradháin, but leave untouched the tendril that has not yet burgeoned.

. As for thy wooing of Bréifne with her sharp blue spears, remember that thine is the progeny of the land wherein thou art ; one should be gentle with spouse.

. For thee every fair tree is fruitful, and every river rises to its brink ; thy land with its blue mantle of bursting (?) hazels sends forth its grass quickly neath the bright rain.

. For thee rivers team with fish, and oaks are blossoming ; the soil nourishes its corn, and all the land flows with milk for thee, O Brian.

. Thou makest every green field fertile, O Guaire, on the ploughing of its sod ; all white with nuts is thy portion of (this) Greece, O young generous Mág Shamhradháin.

. Purple with flowers is every lawn—behold them ! Glorious of colour thy land's fruits ; fair is every district and every ford with sloe-blossom at the coming of the cuckoo.

. Truly princelike, O Brian, is the daily round of thy household, ever listening to sweet song ; battle-flags are being cut by its ladies while thou stainest battle-fields bright red.

. Smiths fashioning tall spears ; goodly chains for measuring ships and works of art ; sparks from edges of swords and truncheons have smoothed away the rough nap (?) on thy good red cloaks.

. In thy castle are spearsmen slowly patrolling owing to thy mead-feast ; a rivetted lance lies across each warrior's white knee, and above his head hangs his spear in thy fair castle.

. There are artificers making gold ornaments—and chains too ; for thee the deft smith has bridle-bells that embellish with red spots the (steed's) fresh-combed mane.

21. Youths train their hounds around the castle with its palisade bright with berries; thy steeds, O Brian of Breagha, are being trained too; every fitting task has its turn in thy stronghold.

22. O scion of Conn, O curly hair, O noble graceful Mág Shamhradháin, I see thee playing chess while music is played beside thee, a noble goodly chess-king.

23. Musicians deftly playing on cold brass strings, steadily producing their notes, w (poets) striving (in recitation) during the banquet with the massive gold harp

24. Every kingly house is rivalled by thee; how numerous thy helmets! On the blood stained field has flowed the gore of those whom thou hast left without kine o cloak.

25. Thou bringest from the Sionann a hard-won *creach*, thy steed alert at every instant (?); from thy captured troop of fine horses, O Brian, every poet-ban will be well provided.

26. Thy raid extended to the Éirne, awaking lamentations along the lake; a mass c purple satin (flags) is to be seen over each troop as it comes forth from th clustered bothies.

27. Dear prince, thou plunderest the plain from the sea east to Cladh na Cairge; gail thy troop marches through Magh Eine, thy visitation along the Caol (Uisg was one big conflagration.

28. A raid on Gránard,—no small matter!—thou didst decide on; thou wilt bring hom surrounded by thy cavalry, the captured steeds of Magh Teabhtha.

29. O blue eye, thou art now (like) Ó Duibhne in charm and strength, handsome as o Duibhne (?) with white skin and bright-palmed hand.

30. Like Cú Culainn's is thy fair body, having the hue of the deft and graceful Cú Aodh's apple-trick is (like) the red spots flushing thy cheek.

31. Fiamhain, fair lithe grey-eyed prince for whom was ever full the wine within ornamente sides of goblets—the dark colour of that swarthy man, thou, o bright hero, can assume at will (?).

32. As a mountain-torrent thou dashest on thy *creachs*: Fionn is thy name in ever troop; I see thy anger, O red-hued Fear Diadh, blazing in every fight.

33. O red-cloaked leader, O lion fatal to folk, O wicked serpent, O wounder Goill, O prince from the wood of Conn's house.

34. O fierce fiery circle, O Deirgtheine whose cheeks are set 'neath proud eyes, O han ever rounded with holding darts and gold (gifts), O great sea-wave flowing int bay.

35. O Mág Shamhradháin, a forest of lances surrounds thee marching through the land when thou attackest Goill, firm-set is thy foot behind thy lance.

NOTES

Magauran MS, p. 5. Poet's name not given. 1*a*. ᴀ ı ᵬɲ. *sic saep*
c. ᴅuınn *abest* 2*d*. ᴀm le. 3*a*. ᴛeᴀnn 4*d*. ᴛıocfaıᵭ, unusual for
6*c*. -ċluċ 8*d*. comᴀıll 9*b*. -ſeᴀ *d*. ł. ı luċᴛ 10*a*. ᴀɲ ᴀ le
b. ᴅo ċoıᵹ *d*. oᴅ ſo. ; ᵹ. ᵹ. 11*b*. mbᴀlᵬᵹ. 13*d*. coċolᵹ
17*b*. ce. cᴀ. 18*b*. ɲᴀmᴀınᴅ ᴅeᵹᴀᵭ 19*c*. ᵹᴀ ımſnᴀ *d*. ſıoɲ *abe*
20*c*. nuᴀmᴀınᴅ 22*d*. ſenᴅ 23*b*. cᴀɲſeᴅm *d*. nımᴀ
25*b*. *Leg*. ıɲ c'eᴀċ ᵹᴀċ ıonᴀım (*gen. temp.*) ? *d*. ſᵹᴀıċ 28*a*. ᵹɲᴀnᴀıɲ
b. ᴀ ſł. 29*c*. mᴀɲ oɲ nᴅuıᵬnı ᴀɲ ᴅeᴀɲ ; *leg*. ſeᴀɲ mᴀɲ ᴀn ᴅonnṁuıne nᴅeᴀɲ c
ᵹ. ᴀɲ ᵬollᵹloıne b. *d*. ᵬunᵹuıle 31*b*. nᴀ ᵹł. 32*b*. ſene *d*. cᴀ

RISH CATHOLIC COLONIES AND COLONIZATION PROJECTS IN UNITED STATES, 1795–1860

BY SISTER MARY GILBERT KELLY, O.P.

Part II.*

THE zeal of the saintly Right Reverend Matthias Loras, Bishop of Dubuque, extended to a series of settlements and embraced all nationalities, though the immigrants nto Iowa during his episcopate were mainly Germans and rish. The earliest of the Catholic communities which eveloped under his guidance was that at Garryowen, about wenty miles from Dubuque. To this place, then known as Iakokiti, during 1838 and 1839 came Irish immigrants—ıostly from Cork and Limerick. Under the guidance of 'ather Samuel Mazzuchelli, a Dominican missionary who had one much to prepare the way for the work of Bishop Loras, log church was built in 1840. Because of the abundant imber in the neighbourhood the priest distributed the labour f preparing a great number of beams twenty to forty feet ong among the forty-two men of the parish, each of whom arried his handiwork to the site of the church. The Bishop ontributed six hundred dollars from the Society for the 'ropagation of the Faith to procure necessary materials and o pay the workmen employed in the actual construction of he building. The result of this first community project was sudden increase in the number of settlers, so that the region vas soon entirely occupied by Catholics. When services were irst held in this new St. Patrick's Church, the parish numbered carcely one hundred; the next year the number had risen o two hundred and sixty; two years later the congregation ounted six hundred and boasted of a school and a resident astor; while by 1844 Father Mazzuchelli could state that there vas not a single Protestant proprietor in the township in which t. Patrick's was located.[29] That Bishop Loras had visited the

* For Part I see March issue.

[29] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

settlement in 1840 is certain, since the first three recorde baptisms in the registry bear his signature. During a secon visit he confirmed thirteen persons in the same parish.[30]

The school at Garryowen, probably erected in 1842, wa undoubtedly the first to be operated in connection with th Church in what is now the Archdiocese of Dubuque. Th funds for its maintenance were obtained from the publi treasury, but the pastor exercised a controlling influence i the appointment of teachers and the direction of studie Among the instructors was Dennis A. Mahoney, afterward editor of the first *Dubuque Herald* and later State Senato to whose initiative the change from the old Indian name o Makokiti to Garryowen was mainly due. In 1855 a grou of Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary came t Garryowen at the invitation of Father Jeremiah Trecy, the pastor there; but after three years of hardship due to lack o equipment and finances the school was closed until 1871, whe this same community resumed the direction of education ther

Father Perrodin, the first resident pastor, endeavoured t cultivate the virtue of temperance among his parishioners an worked for the betterment of the homes and living condition of the Irish settlers, though the rectory was still a log hous at the time of his departure for France in 1851. Under h successor, Father Trecy, the cornerstone of the present churc built of stone quarried three miles south of the town, was lai on March 19, 1854, and the building was completed the sam year. The parishioners furnished most of the unskilled labou but the expert stone cutters and masons had to be paid According to local tradition the building funds were exhauste before the roof was reached, and to avoid embarrassment i the matter, eighteen representatives of the more influenti families walked to Dubuque to borrow one thousand dollar They secured the loan on condition that they put up the farms and holdings as collateral and returned the followin day in hilarious mood. The community prospered and toda St. Patrick's, Garryowen, has seven daughter parishes who formation naturally deprived her of many members but d

not impair her vitality. This is evidenced by the modern grade and high school buildings, forming the nucleus of an attractive rural community centre.[31]

Fruition was not to be the lot of several plans conceived on both sides of the Atlantic to ameliorate the condition of the great numbers of famine victims emigrating to the United States during the years 1847 to 1852. One of these projects was that of Reverend James Maher of Graigue, County Carlow. In 1849 this priest had secured the co-operation of the Right Rev. Bruno Fitzpatrick, O.C.S.O., Abbot of Mount Melleray, Ireland, lately returned from establishing a foundation of his Order at New Melleray ten miles from Dubuque, and of the Very Rev. Terence J. Donoghue, Vicar-General of the Dubuque Diocese. It was only after careful consideration of conditions in the Emerald Isle, systematic investigation of prospects in the various frontier regions of the United States, and consultation with his parishioners and others in Leinster desirous of emigrating that news of his plans to establish a settlement near New Melleray was sent to America for publication.[32]

Father Donoghue, in a letter to Father Maher dated December 26, 1849, declared he had been greatly impressed by his correspondence with the latter and with Abbot Fitzpatrick and was convinced that emigration was now the " only resource against the combined pressure of rack-rents, rent-charges, and other taxes " upon unhappy Ireland. There would be hardships to face, but no extensive and lasting good had ever been effected without encountering proportionate difficulties. Although he had refused to engage in a project such as now proposed when urged to it three years ago, because he " did not *then* despond that Ireland would become a great nation," he no longer hesitated in recommending that a colony be sent from Leinster and urged that the first group be located near New Melleray ; for, from his experience of nearly thirty years in America, he could vouch for the excellence of soil and climate there. Government land at $1.25 per acre was still obtainable, but there were only small patches of forest for fuel. Three-fourths of the settlers in the vicinity of the Abbey were Catholics, of high morals, industrious, and

kind to newcomers. In order to be certain of securing a sufficient amount of land for the proposed colony one thousand pounds should be sent with the earliest arrivals, lest others not in sympathy with the movement buy up large tracts in the region, already well known for its fertility, and thus ruin the plan for establishing a large Catholic community. The colonists should sail on March 1, though actual arrival by May 1 would still permit of a successful start for the venture. They would not be able to sow wheat the first season, but he offered to give lessons in raising Indian corn, oats, and even potatoes as good as they ever had. "They must be smart," said Father Donoghue, "for we are a go-ahead people here." [32]

In an address to the farmers of Leinster Father Maher stated that those most likely to succeed in America were young men skilled in agriculture and possessing the means of purchasing forty to eighty acres of land. Even the opulent farmers should each send one member of their families to the western world. It would be best to go in small bands as the Swiss and Germans had done, form a society, and by mutual intercourse ward off depression of spirits and prevent roaming about the country. The colonists should secure land at once, begin to work, and expect no luxuries. "We shall take all possible care," he said, "to admit none to our colony except those who have laid aside all foolish, exaggerated expectancies, and have formed . . . correct ideas as to the duties and laborious life of the emigrant." After dwelling on the hopelessness of lower rents for their district, he stated that on the following Thursday and on Sunday after Mass he would be at the service of those who had not already handed in their names. If possible, the party would sail on March 1, according to Father Donoghue's suggestion. According to testimony from a member of the Trappist Order at New Melleray, even after these extensive and careful preparations no colony under the guidance of Father Maher arrived at the Abbey or any place in Dubuque County, Iowa, in the 1850's. However, Father Maher may have influenced the colonization of Rev. Thomas Hore of Wexford, or they may have co-operated in an enterprise which was of great interest to both.

Father Hore had spent the first years of his priesthood as a missionary in eastern United States; and when he found some of his flock, who had sufficient resources, planning to go to America, he could give them practical advice. The year 1849 was spent by many in careful preparation for emigration. Twelve hundred neighbours of both sexes and all ages, of whom nine hundred were from Father Hore's own parish, were planning to leave under his guidance in the late autumn of 1850. They were reported as a "most respectable and respect-commanding body," not flying houseless and evicted but volunteers, who with prudent foresight had determined to depart and settle down together in the far distant but healthy and fertile Arkansas.[33] They were probably influenced in their choice of location by the earnest efforts of Right Rev. Andrew Byrne, first Bishop of Little Rock, a native of Dublin, who made unceasing efforts to promote Catholic immigration into his diocese.

The writer of *The History of Catholicity in Arkansas* states that Bishop Byrne planned to establish an Irish colony at Fort Smith, that with his sanction Father Hore left Ireland in 1849 with about seventy-five families, that after a tedious ocean voyage many of his people fell victims to an epidemic like cholera upon their arrival at Little Rock and became so disheartened that they planned to leave Arkansas. Several possessing some wealth went to St. Louis and in time were classed among the richest and most prominent men of the city; others remained in Little Rock; while more of them went on to Fort Smith; but within a year all the Irish had left their first abodes, some settling in the towns, others in the country. A contemporary account, however, states that Father Hore came to Arkanas in 1850 accompanied by some hundreds of colonists but, after visiting several counties of the state, abandoned the search for a location, satisfied that the country was not adapted to the wants or wishes of his people. He arrived in Dubuque on January 23, 1851, presented himself to Bishop Loras, spent some days with the Trappists at New Melleray Monastery, and then set out to explore the country. The location selected in Allamakee

County, Iowa, a few miles from Prairie du Chien, embraced all the natural advantages necessary for a prosperous colony, not the least of which was that sufficient land was secured for all who might choose to come and make it their home. A log church named in honour of St. George was begun at once and formed the nucleus of the new town of Wexford. Instead of the hundreds reported as waiting in St. Louis for the opportunity to purchase land in the new settlement as soon as its site was determined, Father Hore began his colony with only eighteen families. However, the congregation (from what sources is not clear) increased to such an extent that the large log church, which soon replaced the first one, in turn was superseded by the present rock church erected in 1870. After a time Father Hore decided to return to Ireland and deeded his interest to the Trappist Fathers at New Melleray. They hoped to establish a monastery at Wexford, but the venture failed and all the monks returned to New Melleray except one who remained as pastor at St. George's for a few years.[34]

Irish colonies had likewise been established in the neighbouring state of Missouri, although information concerning the foundation of the earliest of these is scant. The twin parishes of Armagh and Downpatrick were described by Rev. John O'Hanlon as Irish colonies organized by Father Donnelly, an Ulster priest, who induced several families, chiefly from St. Louis, to take possession of a large tract of land which they purchased on or near the banks of the Meramec River "several years" prior to 1847, at a distance of forty or fifty miles from St. Louis. Armagh was in Franklin County on the south bank of the river, and here a log church in honour of St. Patrick was erected in 1842, while at Downpatrick in Jefferson County north of the river the following year a church was named in honour of St. Bridget. Both settlements were reported in a flourishing condition by Father O'Hanlon who had been sent on a missionary journey to the region, Father Donnelly having been recalled on account of poor health.[35] These places were first recorded in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* in 1844. The site of St. Patrick's Church was an elevated spot of level ground overlooking the river at what is

called "Priests' Ford." Many Irish Catholics who had helped in the construction of the Pacific Railroad invested their savings in land around these two churches of Father Donnelly. There must have been a considerable influx of settlers into the locality, for he also built the Church of St. Columbkille about one mile west of the present village of Byrnesville.

Another Irish colony in Missouri, that established by Rev. John J. Hogan, who in 1868 became the Bishop of St. Joseph, Missouri, was conceived as a place of refuge for the material betterment of his countrymen. While a young priest in St. Louis in 1854-1855, Father Hogan had observed the hundreds of Irish Catholic servant girls attending early Mass at several churches in the city. He found that the young Catholic Irishmen, not obtaining occupation in the city, had been obliged to seek employment on the railroads and to move about as the work progressed. These types of employment and the separation of the Catholic young men and women, on account of lack of fixed abode for the former, seemed to preclude the probability of otherwise suitable Catholic marriages. The priest believed that ownership or cultivation of land alone could remedy this situation, and planned the formation of colonies to which he might attract his countrymen and enable them to attain a better opportunity of leading a life in accord with their religious principles. He finally secured permission from Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick to go into the wilderness to find places where tracts of land of moderate fertility could be purchased at government prices. In company with Rev. James Fox of Old Mines, Father Hogan went on a scouting trip through much of the yet sparsely settled regions of the southern part of the state and finally purchased a tract of four hundred and eighty acres on Ten Mile Creek in present-day Carter County and made arrangements to put men on it at once. To his dismay, in November of the following year when his pastoral duties in the northern part of the state once more permitted him to visit his small colony, he found that all the adjacent government land fit for cultivation had been bought up by non-Catholics.

Since sufficient land for a colony could no longer be obtained at government price, he was forced to go westward about forty miles where a large tract of land was secured through a donation of Father Fox, on the confines of Carter and Oregon Counties, about twenty miles north of the Arkansas border.[36]

On this site a one-story log house forty feet square was erected and partitioned into two apartments, one for a priest's residence and the other for a chapel. According to Father Hogan's own report, "soon improvement went on apace; cutting down trees, splitting rails, burning brushwood, making fences, grubbing roots and stumps, building houses, digging wells, breaking and plowing land, and sowing crops. As early as the spring of 1859 there were about forty families on the newly-acquired government lands" [37] or on improved farms purchased along Current River, while many more families were on their way to the colony. By 1860 the railroads in Missouri had opened the country to an ever-growing flood of immigrants, among whom a goodly proportion were Catholics.

A colony founded about the same time as that of Father Hogan was that at Shieldsville in south-eastern Minnesota. This settlement was begun by General James Shields who came to America from County Tyrone, served his adopted country in three wars, and held several positions of trust under the government. In 1855, at the end of a term in the United States Senate, he came to Minnesota to select some land that had been awarded him there for his war services. He was so favourably impressed with the country that he decided to go East and organize a colony of Irish Americans to settle on the soil of Rice and Le Sueur Counties, of whose fertility he had learned while Commissioner of the Federal Land Office in Washington. During this first trip he laid out the prospective village, shortly afterwards named in his honour, and later that same year returned with a number of Irishmen from St. Paul who settled in Erin Township. It was likewise in 1855 that, through the columns of the Catholic press, he invited to his colony Irish Catholics both in the eastern states and those who had not yet left Ireland.[38] So many settlers arrived on foot, on horseback, and by ox-team and took up land that,

by the fall of 1856, all the government land of better quality around the locality had been taken up. The following year Rice County had six hundred and eighty-two residents of Irish birth, four hundred and sixty of whom were in Erin and Shieldsville Townships and in neighbouring Faribault; in Shieldsville itself over half of the two hundred and ninety inhabitants had been born in Ireland and a slightly smaller number were of Irish parentage. Improvement in the material well-being of the settlement was manifested in the sawmill, the general merchandise store, the blacksmith shop, and the wagon shop which appeared within the next two years; political and educational advance was indicated by the official creation of the Township of Shieldsville in 1858 and the organization in the village of a school district in the spring of the same year; while religious progress was indicated by the formation of a parish and the erection of a church within that same period.

The project of General Shields had met with considerable approval; but Archbishop Hughes of New York opposed the formation of this colony, as he likewise objected to the programme of the Buffalo convention; and the work of the General was only partly successful. The cause for severance of relations with his colony, however, lay largely with the founder himself. The settlement apparently had been on the road to prosperity when Shields suddenly lost all interest in it. According to some accounts the settlers who had come in response to his advertisement became dissatisfied with his failure to furnish legal deeds to the property on which they had settled. Because of his experience in the Federal Land Office he had readily secured a clear title to his property and could easily have furnished deeds; but when the colonists insisted upon having such deeds and he attempted to charge from five to fifty dollars for them, they rose in wrath. The dwellers in town, who had paid good prices for their lots, also showed resentment toward him when he exacted a dollar for each deed, though the implication had been that he would supply such legal documents gratis. It may have been more profitable for him to abandon Shieldsville and invest his

money in the town site of Faribault then entering upon a boom period; at any rate, less than two years after the beginning of his project, the colony was no longer on intimate terms with the fiery General, who soon became so unpopular that he left his Minnesota property and went to California. Colonists continued to arrive at Shieldsville after lands there were entirely taken up and after the participation of the General in its affairs had ceased; these later arrivals settled in the surrounding townships and formed the industrious, progressive parishes of Erin, Montgomery and Kilkenny.[39]

The remaining Irish Catholic colony established in the United States prior to 1860 was the outgrowth of the personal interest in colonization of Bishop Loras and one of the priests of his diocese. St. Patrick's Colony which Rev. Jeremiah F. Trecy established in Nebraska Territory early in 1855 has sometimes been confused with the Township of St. Patrick planned by the officials of the Irish Catholic Convention for the Promotion of Actual Settlements which met in Buffalo in February 1856; yet the only real connection between the established colony and the projected township was that the programme of the convention, to which Father Trecy had been a delegate, helped to arouse interest in the Nebraska settlement. Father Trecy, of whom earlier mention has been made in connection with the colony of Garryowen, had worked with Bishop Loras from the time of his ordination in 1851, serving in various parishes in the diocese and going on missionary journeys until he established the "Nebraska colony of Garryowen."[40] From the early twentieth century recollections of an old settler, who in 1856 was the youthful Catherine Jones, may be gleaned information about the beginnings of St. Patrick's Colony. In 1853 the Jones family had moved from Cattaraugus County in New York to St. Charles, Illinois; but being dissatisfied there, they decided to go to Dubuque to see Bishop Loras largely because of the attractions for Catholic immigrants pictured in the columns of the *Boston Pilot*. While Mr. Jones and his son Ned were calling on the Bishop, Father Trecy happened to come in from Garryowen; the priest offered to secure the newcomers a farm to rent in his

Irish; but the Bishop remarked that they should do better than that and spoke of the feasibility of a colony. They all talked of forming a colony later. The Joneses rented a farm at Garryowen, and it was from there that Ned Jones fared forth to join Father Trecy in 1855 when they set out with a small group of men to look for a suitable location for the projected colony.[41]

A clue to the date of their arrival in Dakota County, Nebraska Territory, where they selected the site of St. John's mission or town within the boundaries of lands occupied by the St. Patrick's colonists, may be found in a report of his work sent by Father Trecy to Bishop O'Gorman, Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, on August 4, 1859, in which he wrote: "In reply to your request, I hasten to give an accurate account of the Missions that have grown up from my first coming to the Territory to the present time (now over four years). 1st—The oldest mission in the Territory is St. John's. It was commenced on the 24th June, 1855, with a congregation of 11 souls."[42] The party, with the exception of Father Trecy's brother John, who seems to have remained behind to hold the claim, returned to Garryowen to gather colonists for an early start the following spring.

On April 21, 1856 twenty-five families, about sixty persons, including Father Trecy's parents and widowed sister, started out in eighteen covered wagons, all ox-drawn except that of the priest which was drawn by fine black horses. It was the second of June when the colonists arrived at the site of their proposed settlement, where they found one log cabin erected, one in course of construction, and a dug-out built into the side of one of the surrounding hills. They probably lived in the tents in which they had camped each night on the open prairie until dug-outs with dirt floors could be made to shelter them. Some families decided to live in the projected town, but most took up claims in the surrounding country. A town was surveyed and plotted by June 24 and called St. John's, in honour of St. John the Baptist, whose feast came on that day, though the colony as a whole was known as St. Patrick's.[43] An account (dated June 26, 1856) of a trip down the Missouri

River sent to the editor of the *Boston Pilot* by "An Old Subscriber" mentioned his pleasure, on the previous day, o assisting in the erection of a cross fifty feet high on the wes bank of the Missouri River in the town of St. John. Here h had met seventy of his countrymen; and in their midst the busiest of all but the first to greet him, was Father Trecy The writer considered the location selected by the priest a one of the best on the Missouri River.

The winter following the foundation of the colony wa severely cold. The families were imprisoned in their dug outs on the hillsides with snow piled in barricades so hig that a passage-way had to be shovelled to get out, and th men could go to tend their cattle only by following a guidin line from dug-out to stable. Few dared to venture forth int the tractless world, and some who did were found only whe the thaw came, often but a few feet from the habitation they had tried to reach. Lack of sufficient nourishing food rations consisted mostly of parched corn pounded with flat-iron—and long weeks of isolation brought many to th verge of nervous collapse and despair. Spring finally cam bringing floods and heavy roads with little relief from th long isolation. Summer brought a good crop, but most of th corn was devoured by grasshoppers. The settlers were ke in suspense through fear that the Indians in the neighbou hood might steal their crops or stock, burn their homes, even kill some of the newcomers.

Father Trecy gave himself so whole-heartedly to his colon that in the spring of 1857 he went to Washington, D.C., whe through the Nebraska Territorial Delegate he succeeded i keeping the Nebraska lands open for pre-emption. He wish to keep speculators out of the territory and to attract actu settlers to the region.[44] In the course of his trip he arrive in New York where, at the Broadway Tabernacle on the eve ing of March 26, he delivered a lecture in support of settl ments in the far West and in particular of St. Patrick's Colon At the close of the address a gentleman, who was soon reco nized as Archbishop John Hughes, rose in the gallery a expressed his opposition to western settlements fostered b artificial combinations of men interested in land speculatio

e went on to declare that any priest who in the name of the tholic religion turned himself into a recruiting sergeant d forgotten his vocation. He evidently identified Father ecy's colony with the Buffalo Convention, to which he had en opposed, and declared that if this plan were carried out, e day would soon come when the colonists would be em- ttered in their hearts against those who had enticed them om their homes. The front page account of the meeting ven in the *New York Times* of the next morning, in what ere for those days startling headlines, mentioned the vindi- tion of himself attempted by Father Trecy, but stressed e sensation created by the speech of the Archbishop and ated that, after he had once more criticised the priest, the dience had withdrawn in profound silence.[45] When Father recy became aware of the sensation this meeting had caused, e hastened to explain to the editor of that paper that none those present at the lecture, which he had been invited to ve, nor any one attached to the Buffalo Convention was in ny way interested in the lands of St. Patrick's Colony.[46]

The Buffalo Immigrant Aid Convention, of which mention as just been made, was in many ways the climax of lans for western colonization to benefit the Irish Catholics randed in the eastern part of the United States. This oncentration of Irish population in the large industrial entres of the East came as a consequence of opportunities eld out by American industry to immigrant workers during e late forties and the fifties when the influx of Irish to this ountry, following in the wake of famine and economic dis- ress, was reaching its height. To the great probability of aving to dwell in ill-ventilated, over-crowded tenements nd the frequent need of seeking help from charitable institu- ions was added the danger of moral and intellectual con- amination. To combat these influences Thomas D'Arcy IcGee, poet, historian, editor, and fearless champion of his ountrymen against Know Nothingism, so hostile to Catholic oreigners during the 1850's, became the prime mover for rish rural settlement.

Opposition to the colonization plans of McGee on the

part of Archbishop Hughes of New York had its roots in th misguided zeal with which the exiled McGee championed th lost cause of Young Ireland upon his arrival in the Unite States late in 1848. The then Bishop Hughes had hesitantl given Young Ireland public support shortly before the abortive rising. His determination to disavow any con nection with the Irish Confederation led him into journalist conflict with its zealous champion and caused the latter t throw the blame for Young Ireland's defeat on the Cathol clergy through their failure to join the movement. The Bisho denounced the night schools for adult immigrants towar which McGee acted as organizer, promoter, and instructo fearing that every endeavour of this firebrand provided hi with some unsuspected way of inculcating false doctrines an radical political heresies.[47] Before August 1849 the Bisho had ruined McGee's *Nation* through his insistence that ever diocese and every Catholic door be closed against that pape which he denounced as an infidel publication.

During his varied journalistic career of the next six yea D'Arcy McGee made trips into Canada, where he was favou ably impressed with the Provinces as a place more suitab than the United States for Irish settlers from the viewpoi of wages, school system, and freedom from proscription the Know Nothing brand. Early in 1855, through the mediu of his *American Celt*, he began the campaign which ended in th calling of the Buffalo Convention, whose aim was to bri about an authoritative and organized movement of Iri Catholics into selected agricultural districts. In an effo to help an Ireland imprisoned and poverty-tied in New Yor he prepared a survey of the resources of the Irish in the Unite States and proved through it that, if the Irish Catholics ther selves were properly interested in the assistance of the countrymen by fostering colonization projects, they cou furnish the means to carry on the work. The presentation this practical side of the scheme caused many leaders of th Catholic Church in both the United States and Canada to becon deeply interested and to consider plans by which they ar Catholic laymen might come together to discuss the pros ar

ns of the whole project. Newspapers in both countries ok up the issue and commented on points of weakness or rength in the colonization idea, with occasional derogatory marks concerning the relative merits of the countries in estion and the destructive force of Orangism *versus* Know othingism. McGee was charged by his opponents with ying to strengthen European monarchy in North America withdrawing large numbers of the adopted citizens of e United States from the benefits of democratic govern- ent. At this juncture Very Rev. J. J. Kirwan, R.C.D., of ondon, Canada West, proposed the calling of a convention Buffalo by those devoted to the interests of Irishmen and atholics in general.[48]

The Irish Immigrant Aid Convention, which met in Buffalo om February 12-15, 1856, was attended by ninety-five embers representing eleven states of the Union and Canada, rty-three being from the Province and fifty-two from the epublic. They adopted as their official title: The Irish atholic Convention for the Promotion of Actual Settlements North America. It was estimated that the principal reports d addresses of the convention must have reached not less an one-half million readers in the United States through e leading daily journals and the Catholic press, with probably n equal number in Canada. In Ireland the material had been produced by almost the whole press of the country, while an ditorial in the French *Univers* and an article in the Italian *iviltà Cattolica* expressed approval of the proceedings.[49] The cal source of criticism of the convention was in the columns f the *New York Freeman's Journal*, the organ of Archbishop ughes.[50]

Upon the recommendation of the Financial Committee e formation of a joint stock company for the promotion of ttlements had been agreed to by the members of the Buffalo onvention. In April an epitome of the articles of association f such a company was printed and subscriptions were begun r five hundred shares at fifty dollars, each to be held not nger than five years. The amount thus secured was to be evoted to the purchase and settlement of a township, to be

called St. Patrick's, which the Board of Directors appointe at the Convention expected to have ready for occupation b June 1st, when it was hoped the colony would be in actua operation. On May 26 two trustees were appointed to receiv the $15,000 already subscribed, as well as future receipts.[5] Earlier in the month two members of the Society, a pries and a layman, had left for a three weeks' trip through Michigar Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois to seek a suitable location fc the township but found the principal land offices closec This course had been started even before the date of the Buffal Convention by the Government at Washington in order t defeat speculators and to enable the railroad companies c the several states to locate the large grants of land made ther by the Congress of 1856. The journey through Minnesot and Iowa, made in July by two priests, had resulted in findin a great amount of government land still unoccupied but whic might not be available for two or three years. In late Augu the committee, which reported the results of these two trip strongly urged that people already settled should stay whe they were and that the unsettled portion of the Irish popul tion should pre-empt lands in the West, being guided in the choice of region by the auxiliary societies of the national ass ciation. The committee expressed its determination purchase a township as soon as western lands were again the market. This decision could be adhered to, since sul scriptions for the entire number of shares had been receive by that time.

Hope for concrete results was held out for a while throug the proposition that a Catholic Settlement Convention, be composed of delegates from the western states conversan with actual conditions, should convene in Chicago at a suf ciently early date to permit all necessary arrangements to l completed before the probable re-opening of land offices the spring of 1857.[52] This hope proved unwarranted, for th Chicago Convention never matured, and in the spring 1857 Congress transferred extensive tracts of land to a doz railroads in four or five states. Moreover, with the accep ance by Thomas D'Arcy McGee of the invitation extended b

ends in Canada to become editor of the *New Era* in their untry, one of the sturdiest advocates of colonization passed m the scene of action in the United States.

When the enemies of McGee wished to belittle the accomphments of the Buffalo Convention, they centred their ticism on him, whom they designated as the originator of at gathering. If we accept the testimony of this "guiding irit" for the credit due to that meeting, we find that this thering was responsible for staying the panic flight of tholics of small means back to Europe and for the addition the Catholic yeomanry of the interior of at least thirty ousand families, three-fourths of whom had settled in the estern states of the Republic and the remainder in Canada. ey had not settled under the organization devised at the nvention, but had moved to the land in obedience to advice fered them. The real object of the delegates at Buffalo had en to get the unprovided members of their race into the en country, where wages were fair, living cheap, and air d morals pure; the formation of an Irish colony in western nited States, in Canada, or in both, was secondary, though e of the most certain means of assuring permanency and ability to their aim. The publicity given to the conditions the congested slums and the attractions of an independnt existence in the interior of the continent, as well as the ank acknowledgment of hardships to be met there, had bbed the wilderness of half its terror and spurred many to come pioneers of civilization in frontier regions. McGee lieved it could be demonstrated that more homes had been tablished, better family foundations laid, a greater quantity real property acquired, a more thorough check given to tivist fury, and a more considerable rise of wages brought out in the East by the colonizing multitudes than could ve been effected by any or all other agencies combined. this testimony might be added that of the editor of the *ston Pilot*: "Let the enemies of the Buffalo Convention y what they will, every day's experience shows that the nvention had the effect of turning the attention of Catholics the great West."[53]

Interest in the colonization movement did not cease after the departure of McGee for Canada. Of the several eastern bishops who had already carried on colonization in the western portions of their dioceses and who had evinced active interest in the plan of the Immigrant Aid Convention of February 1856, Bishop John Timon of Buffalo was the most active. From the beginning of his episcopacy in 1847 he had sponsored the concentration of Catholics of his diocese into compact parishes. This he continued to do after the failure of the Buffalo programme, being assisted by Rev. Bernard McCabe who used the *Pilot* as his publicizing agent. One of Father McCabe's letters declared that the people at Constable were all from Cork, those at Chateaugay from Tipperary and Limerick with a few from Cork and Donegal, at Moira all from Cavan, while those at Coffee Town were from Donegal. Bishop Timon carried out ideas similar to those of Bishop Loras, although not in a real frontier region nor on a scale necessitating extensive newspaper publicity.

The sentiment of many Catholic historians and ecclesiastical leaders of the late nineteenth century, and of our own time, regarding the failure of the Irish Catholic colonization movement of the 1850's was aptly expressed by Bishop John L. Spalding of Peoria at the time of the formation of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States, 1879, and by Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul twenty years later in his evaluation of the colonization work of Bishop Loras. Bishop Spalding felt that, in view of the great influence exerted by Archbishop Hughes over the Irish Catholics of the country, it was most unfortunate that he became an opponent of this movement. No one could have done more than he to make the Irish crowded in the large cities realize that they should make homes for themselves on the land. Moreover, his position of approving the individual who bought a farm and condemning a number of people who entered into an association in order to secure, along with the farm, the advantage of church, school, and society, was an untenable one.[55] Archbishop Ireland declared that at the date of writing it was beyond doubt that, had the enlightened view

Bishop Loras, of D'Arcy McGee, and of those who took part ith him in the Buffalo Colonization Convention, been en- uraged and brought to a favourable issue, the Catholic urch would be immensely more prosperous in all the western ates of the Union than she can now ever hope to be.

ver Forest
Illinois

Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O.P.

NOTES

[29] Rev. Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, O.P., *Memoirs Historical and Edifying of a issionary Apostolic . . .*, trans. by Sister Mary Benedicta, O.P. (Chicago, 1915), 254–255; etropolitan Catholic Almanac (1840), 104; *ibid.* (1841), 138.

[30] Rev. M. M. Hoffman, ed. and comp., *Centennial History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, 37–1937* (Dubuque, 1938), 11.

[31] *Ibid.*, 12–13, 16.

[32] *New York Freeman's Journal*, Mar. 16, 1850.

[33] *Boston Pilot*, Nov. 2, 1850, reprint from *Wexford* (Ireland) *Guardian.*

[34] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 49-50; *Boston Pilot*, Mar. 8 and Mar. 29, 1851.

[35] Rev. John O'Hanlon, *Life and Scenery in Missouri*; *Reminiscence of a Missionary riest* (Dublin, 1890), 147-148.

[36] Rt. Rev. John J. Hogan, *On the Mission in Missouri*, 1857-1888 (Kansas City, Mo., 92), 1-2, 37-39, 49-50.

[37] *Ibid.*, 59-60.

[38] Henry A. Castle, "General James Shields," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical ciety*, XV, 719; Rev. Edward D. Neill, *History of Rice County, including Explorers and oneers of Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1882), 576.

[39] *Ibid.*, 576, 581; Castle, *loc. cit.*, 719; Rev. Humphrey Moynihan, "Archbishop bland's Colonies," *Acta et Dicta*, VI, 215.

[40] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

[41] Gertrude Henderson, "An Epic of Early Iowa: Father Trecy's Colonization heme," *Iowa Catholic Historical Review*, III, 8-11.

[42] "The First Catholic Missions in Nebraska," documents ed. by Sister M. Aquinata rtin, O.P., *Mid-America*, XIV, 269; M. M. Warner, *History of Dakota County, Nebraska akota City, Nebr., 1893)*, 45, gives June 25, 1855 as the date for the foundation.

[43] *Ibid.*, 53; Henderson, *loc. cit.*, II.

[44] *American Celt.*, Apr. 18, 1857.

[45] *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1837.

[46] Letter written to the Editor of the *New York Times* but printed in *American Celt*, pr. 18, 1857.

[47] Isabel Skelton, *The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Gardenvale, 1925), 180-181.

[48] *American Celt*, Nov. 10, 1855.

[49] *Ibid.*, Feb. 23 and July 5, 1856.

[50] *New York Freeman's Journal*, Mar. 1, 1856.

[51] *American Celt*, Apr. 12 and May 31, 1856.

[52] *The Leader*, Oct. 5, 1856.

[53] *American Celt*, July 5 and Aug. 16, 1856; *Boston Pilot*, Aug. 1, 1857.

[54] *Ibid.*, July 18 and Aug. 15, 1857; May 7, 1859; June 30, 1860.

[55] Rt. Rev. John L. Spalding, *The Religious Mission of the Irish People and Catholic olonization* (New York, 1880), 147-148.

[56] Introduction, xxxiii, to Rev. Louis De Cailly, *Memoirs of Bishop Loras . . .* (New ork, 1897).

REVIEWS

Art

IRISH ART IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD. By Françoise Henry. London: Methuen. 1940. 25s.

APART from certain monographs Dr. Henry is known for her magistral book on Irish Christian sculpture, in which for the first time the dating and iconography of the High Crosses are, within the limits of our present knowledge, satisfactorily ascertained. In the present book she covers the whole field of Irish Christian art to the end of the tenth century, and it is no denigration from the work of other scholars who have ploughed one or other furrow to say that this work stands now pre-eminent in range and depth. This pupil of M. Focillon and Emile Mâle has unique qualifications. Art and archaeology are not always the allies they should be, and the example of Petrie and Margaret Stokes shows that the happiest results flow from their union. Equipped with the far wider comparative knowledge that modern research has won, Dr. Henry has all their artistic perception. Her own numerous line drawings, which make part of the copious illustration of this book, show an energy and vivacity quite unusual amongst archaeologists and are one secret of its success.

Side by side with Dr. Henry's artistic sensibility there is equal sobriety of judgment and the alternate decision and reserve that mark the true scholar who has emerged from a course of wide and rigorous study, prosecuted as much in field work as in museum *ateliers*. We are familiar with the general aspect of Irish ornament where, within a firm framework, a singular vision and virtuosity are revealed in complexity and metamorphosis. One may use the same terms in discussing this book. In this narrow outpost of western art and its outlying dependencies in Iona and Lindisfarne, a complexity of foreign influences were at work at fortunate moments that followed intervals of seclusion in which the native framework was established. Dr. Henry has analysed these complexities with a wealth of detail and a firm grasp that commands admiration for an unflagging virtuosity not dissimilar from the objects of her study.

It is quite impossible to set out the process of this analysis or to announce any fundamental reversals of opinion. The day is passed for startling novelties. But the student will find here the most significant groupings of objects at home and abroad, a convincing indication of sources, close approximate datings, and illuminating generalisations that suggest further research. The author sees Irish art as the last magnificent development of a Celtic art now otherwise almost eludin discovery; an art that becomes essentially Christian and owes its preservation to that fact, for in the fifth century it was just strong enough to absorb the new elements necessary to its perpetuation. But even in the early middle ages its conservatism held to a pre-histor

dition and its Christian aspect was displayed against a background the Iron Age. Church ornaments and the initials of Gospel-books intertwined with the old la Tène spiral, Germanic animals and f-disguised figurations of Celtic gods. Only in the 9th and 10th turies has the new spirit so entirely permeated Irish art as to direct nsciously to its Christian end. In some respects, like our contemrary art, it worked in the abstract and was mainly linear and orative, the artist's imagination playing on creatures of its own rention and shying away from any too close approximation to lism.

Its high lights were the eighth century—the century of the Ahenny sses, the Ardagh Chalice and the Book of Kells—and the tenth tury, the era of the figured crosses when a systematic iconography attempted. Dr. Henry traces this iconography to the *Ordo commenionis animae* which still figures in the Roman breviary. The *Ordo* s known in Ireland in the ninth century and is embodied in the lendar of Aengus. These figured crosses "appear as a magnificent face to medieval sculpture," and in the apparent absence of Carogian church carvings it remains for future research to establish a cise link between our high crosses and the glories of Romanesque ulpture abroad. It is certain that subjects deriving from the East pear in Irish carvings more than a century earlier than their reappearce and development in Vezelay and Autun.

This interplay of foreign influences—and the traffic was not one y—upon a subtle and conservative art is one of Dr. Henry's leading tives. Coptic, Syrian, Roman, Germanic and Gallic, it is dealt th explicitly in the admirable third and fourth chapters. But it ps up continually, as when an Armenian arch and an oriental plan lodged in the heart of Ireland in the eighth century church of han. A ninth century litany enumerating the bishops of Killeigh monastery some fifteen miles away) supplies the name of the resident menian bishop who was the probable origin of this prodigy. It is ndled, however, in its richest complexity in the chapters on the minated Gospel-books.

Dr. Henry's study begins with the Book of Durrow, where East ets West. Its decorative elements and patterns resemble carvings Fahan, Carndonagh and Reask; there are Saxon animal interlacings, t the strong page composition, alien to contemporary western mination, derive from Coptic and Syrian models and are found here the root of Irish illumination. As is usual, text and illumination executed independently by different hands. In this case the thor's conclusion is that the transcription of the Vulgate text was de by some Lindisfarne refugee at Iona and was sent from Iona the affiliated monastery of Durrow to be decorated there by a local

painter, who betrays his origin by following the Old Latin and no the Vulgate sequence. The decoration of the Book of Lindisfarne i based on Durrow with an admixture of that classical feeling whic penetrated Northumbrian art but barely touched Ireland. A revie of the Gospel-books of Durham, Lichfield, Echternach, the Vatica and Leningrad precedes a minute examination of the Book of Kell Here the author's scrutiny detects the work of four illuminators th character of which is described with singular acuteness and vivacity Her conclusions indicate that Iona is the place where some, if not al of these illuminations were executed " and that the unfinished stat of the manuscript is due to the destruction of the monastery by th Vikings and the subsequent flight to Kells. But it may also be tha only part of the decoration was done at the time of the exodus and tha the fugitive monks continued their work in the new monastery." Th work was protracted, and she assigns as its probable date two periods 760-70 and 815-20.

Other chapters deal with equal competence with the metal wor and with the Viking invasion which swept away so much of this " fra and delicate art, the work of patience, the product of subtle min working in peace and leisure." The volume is illustrated with fift five line drawings and eighty-five collotype plates. C. P. C.

ACADEMIES OF ART: PAST AND PRESENT. By Nikola Pevsner. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 25s.

DR. PEVSNER has written here the life history of *l'animal qu'on nomm académicien.* He disavows any aesthetic purpose and attempts limit himself to the study of those institutions into which artis grouped themselves or were grouped by the State for the elevatio of their own status and for improved art training. He pursues h study dispassionately and with characteristic useful and enormo accumulation of detail in regard particularly to Italy, France a Germany. His aim is sociological, but it is not possible to stu academicians without considering those precepts in art which th began, with remarkable assurance, to formulate in the eighteen century. Therefore, in spite of himself, not the least interesting Dr. Pevsner's pages are the few devoted to the academic discours which began with Zuccari in Rome and were developed more rigorous in Paris by Lebrun, Félibien and others, and imitated later by Reynol and his successors in London. These precepts, categories and tabl of values throw much light on the practice of painting. They ra in a curious hierarchy the subjects proper for treatment, repudia others as beneath the dignity of art, and in a very surprising w allot marks for merit to great and not so great masters. One m see such a marking sheet in an issue of our own eighteenth centu

thologia Hibernica, and I have little doubt that the late Mr. Haverty ed in the spirit of the old categories in his recent foundation. The demic spirit is not always so generously manifested. The attitude essing towards what he called *Kot-malerei* or of Reynolds in deploring w and confined subjects " and " nature's unconscious coarseness " he beginning of *salon* art and ended in making the title of academician erm of reproach.

From one point of view one may say without offence that academies art were born out of snobbery. They began in Italy in imitation he private gatherings of the humanists. Contrary to the scholastic w popularised in our day by Maritain and Eric Gill, they were igned to distinguish the artist from the artisan. Leonardo was their cursor and brain-trust, to whom the name of handicraft as applied art was a *vile cognome*, and even sculpture—from the physical toil nvolved—was not a liberal art but an *arte meccanicissima.* He was sounder ground in merely stressing art's intellectual domain, as helangelo in asserting *si dipinge col cervello e non collo mano.* But of this distinction, carried on by Mazarin and the French Academy distinguishing *arts nobles* and *arts mécaniques*, unfortunate sequences ensued. Meanwhile the genius of Leonardo, Michelangelo Rubens lifted the artist out of his medieval anonymity to something equality with his patron. But this sort of distinction rests on the remacy of genius, and Vasari's Academy of 1563 was less successful establishing its members in a higher social position than the Caracci improving art-training. The first and permanent success of the demy lay in studio teaching and the maintenance of life classes.

Dr. Pevsner's sociological eye associates the birth and full development of the academy with the absolutist states of Renaissance Italy the France of Richelieu, Colbert and Louis XIV. They increased idly in the eighteenth century. In 1720 he finds nineteen in all rope, of which only three or four may be regarded as academies per. But in 1790 over a hundred such public schools were flourishing. nomic considerations, as in our own schools of the Dublin Society, e of paramount importance in this development. The State had, any rate, recognised the function of the artist in society, though in operation the controlling hand of under-secretaries of fine arts led a new vice to the conservatism and exclusiveness of medieval lds in their decadence. The activity of the State, when it was not rely busy with monarchical *décor*, was dedicated to the perfection art industries, but none the less the craftsman's training remained ely technical. The Academy stood aloof in its concern for the e Arts, and the wedge was maintained between the creative artist the craftsman.

When the romantic movement asserted, in its most arrogant form,

the independence of the artist not merely of government but of society giving birth to many heresies, its direct influence on the fine arts in promoting private studio teaching was all to the good. But to its influence not less than to the growth of the machine is due the deplorable taste in nineteenth century craft work. A wall was built between the *probe, seditieux et hautain artiste*, to use Baudelaire's phrase, and the artisan. The artisan was left to his own devices or to the industrialist's taste, except when now and again the manufacturer hired a fine artist who knew little of technical processes or the quality of material and flung his design to the artisan across the wall. The modern attitude demands that the creative artist should remain in the closest touch with his material and that the artisan should be again raised, where possible, to the higher plane. Dr. Pevsner's concluding chapter traces in detail the establishment of this attitude through arts and crafts societies and through Morris and Bauhaus movements. His work as a whole is richly informative and has not its exact equivalent in English art history. C. P. C.

LE ORIGINI DELL' ARTE CRISTIANA CINESE 1583-1644. By P. Pasquale M. D'Elia, S.J. Roma : Reale Accademia d'Italia 1939. L. 50.

THIS monograph, with some thirty-five admirably produced and unusual plates, is a valuable study of the early history of Christian iconography in China. One has read elsewhere of the excitement caused in Europe by the first arrival of ships from China filled by the Jesuit missionaries with material illustrative of Chinese culture and of the passion for *chinoiserie* that resulted. This is the other and nobler side of the story, detailing the steps by which Matteo Ricci, S.J., and his colleagues brought Christian art into China to illustrate dogma and his successful attempts to develop a native school of Christian art in consonance with Chinese artistic tradition and with the minimum European interference.

S. E. Mons. Celso Costantini, the present Secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda and formerly Apostolic Delegate to China, briefly formulated certain principles in this regard : (1) that Western art in China is a stylistic error ; (2) that the importation of Western art gives colour to the charge that Christianity is a foreign religion ; (3) that the practice of the primitive church encourages the adaptation of a national style ; and (4) that the Chinese style lends itself with particular advantage to the exigencies of the Catholic cult. These were the principles that commended themselves in the sixteenth century to the wide-visioned Ricci.

Ricci's account of Chinese painting and of the respectful interest excited amongst the Chinese *literati* by the pictures he had brought

ch him are of interest. These appear to have been examples of lian and Spanish schools, and the Chinese marvelled at their novel lism. The Chinese did not practise painting in oil; and Ricci ds their work, with its absence of shadows and perspective, pale d lacking in vivacity. His companion, the Neapolitan P. Giovanni colas, a painter of distinction, had already set on foot a Jesuit school painting in Japan, and two of his pupils (one of whom, Niiccem, ned the Society) were the first native Christian artists—painting, wever, in the European fashion. Fr. D'Elia discusses Ricci's relations th Tomchicciam, a Chinese painter of real ability who made the idge between western and Chinese art and may have been the painter the first Chinese madonna.

The writer's most valuable pages are devoted to the examination the Chinese version of Nadal's *Notes and Meditations on the Gospels* 595) which were copiously illustrated by the well-known Flemish gravers Martin de Vos, Crispin de Pass and Wierx—the last of whom oduced no less than two thousand engravings for the Jesuits. Nadal's ork was freely circulated in China from 1605; its illustrations covered plicitly the main field of Christian iconography, and their adaptations Chinese artists working in the native manner, many of which are produced here, are of singular interest. C. P. C.

Biography

RANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE. By Ernest Oldmeadow, K.C.S.G. Vol. I. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1940. 16s.

N official biography of the late Cardinal Bourne will be opened with terest by Irish as well as English readers. "The Quiet Cardinal," Mr. Oldmeadow calls him, ruled the archdiocese of Westminster r more than thirty years (1903-1935). He had weathered many orms during those years, and those who were familiar with English atholic life towards the close of his long pontificate could not fail be impressed by the solidity of much of the work that he had achieved, id his sound leadership. But there had been mistakes as well as uccesses, and it was generally admitted that the Cardinal lacked those ersonal qualities which had given a special interest to the pontificates his three great predecessors. Would this biography of the fourth ardinal Archbishop of Westminster be worthy of its predecessors?

Frankly, this book is disappointing. Mr. Oldmeadow is a fervent lmirer of his ecclesiastical hero—and that is all to the good in a book this kind. But, from the first prefatory pages to the last chapter this first volume, he gives the impression of a layman who is uneasily nscious that he is only half familiar with his subject; and there a great deal too much sideplay, which (whatever its purpose in the

author's mind) distracts the reader's attention from the main subjec
Cardinal Bourne was essentially a priest, with a priest's interest
That was the strong side of his pontificate, and his work for the priest
education of his archdiocese is the work which is most likely to rema
as a monument to his thirty years of rule. But the foundation ar
direction of a Seminary is never an easy subject for journalistic writing
and Mr. Oldmeadow has sought 'colour' in some minor episodes
Cardinal Bourne's life, which are told here with unnecessary deta
and yet in such a way as to leave the inquisitive reader most dissatisfie

The Cardinal's relations with his former diocese of Southwark; h
unfortunate experiences with an agent whom he and his predecesso
had trusted unsuspectingly; his visit to Ireland in 1904—these a
points on which a good deal more light is needed than can be four
in these deliberately tantalising pages. But they are minor point
The Cardinal's chief work during the early years of his rule at Wes
minster was concerned with the fight for Catholic schools against a
intolerant Non-Conformist majority. Here in Ireland we are st
reminded of those illiberal days by the restrictions which that san
Non-Conformist majority imposed on our new National Universit
Mr. Oldmeadow tells the story of the Cardinal's fight; but his sto
would have been more impressive if he could have restrained his ow
native pugnacity and had set down in temperate language the essenti
facts. They are all to the credit of Cardinal Bourne.

The book is too long, and the whole biography could easily ha
been compressed into a single volume. But all readers, Irish as we
as English, will be grateful to Mr. Oldmeadow for his tribute to t
Cardinal's Irish Catholic mother, whom her son venerated as a sai
and whose influence on his priestly career cannot be over-estimate

A. G.

Celtica

LEBOR GABÁLA ERENN. Edited by R. A. S. Macalister, D.Lit
Part III. Dublin: Published for the Irish Texts Society by t
Educational Company of Ireland. 1940. Pp. 206. 16s. net.

THE BOOK OF FENAGH. Edited by W. M. Hennessy and
H. Kelly. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1939. Pp. 439. 12s. 6

THE BOOK OF FENAGH. Supplementary Volume. Edited
R. A. S. Macalister, D.Litt., F.S.A. Dublin: Stationery Offi
1939. Pp. 113. 7s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR MACALISTER'S energy and scholarship appear anew in t
books above listed. Two volumes of the Lebor Gabála have be
already noticed in STUDIES (March 1940). The third, just publishe
completes the section on the invasion of Partholon and gives the f
account of the invasion of Nemed. In character (above all, in tot
lack of historical foundation) these sections differ little from the

at have gone before. Nemed, indeed, bears a Celtic name, but his descent from Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia and his wanderings the Caspian Sea suggest distant emigration and mixed ancestry! Professor Macalister rightly accepts Mr. Henry Morris's identification Toirinis with Dernish island, off Sligo, rather than Tory Island, Donegal. Wisely, too, he refrains from attempting to identify e sites of the Battles of Mag Tuired, which are "as mythical as the attle of the Frogs and the Mice."

The Book of Fenagh, the old monastery of St. Caillin in Co. Leitrim, as published nearly seventy years ago. It has long been out of print nd obtainable, when a copy could be secured at all, only at a prohibitive rice. A reflex facsimile of the original edition has just been issued y the Irish Manuscripts Commission. It is accompanied by a supplementary volume from the pen of Professor Macalister in which the eficiences of the editors are made good. They had relied excessively n a transcript made by O'Donovan, apparently for his private use, r it contained a multitude of minor inaccuracies which he had never aken the trouble to correct. Dr. Macalister has collated the printed ext with the manuscript and given the results in an appendix of ghteen large pages. He also supplies additional matter from the hree other manuscripts of the work. There is thus made available r students all the material dealing with St. Caillin and his church t Fenagh.

The quality of these documents is unfortunately poor. In the ourse of time the control of the foundation passed into the hands f a local family called O'Roddy. These regarded their charge chiefly s a source of income, and accordingly treated the Saint not as a man f God but as the architect of their domestic fortunes. His miracles ere many, and each left obligations on the descendants of those avoured. They discharged these by payments to St. Caillin's representatives, the O'Roddys. Thus the Book is essentially a table of nts and dues. It is by no means certain that they were ever paid; ut, if not, the fault did not lie with the O'Roddy family. It was at heir behest that the Book was compiled by one of the learned Maelconaires in 1516. He regarded his task as hackwork and erformed it perfunctorily, for the beginning and end of his homily n St. Caillin are taken bodily from a Life of St. Berach. A conundrum r which no explanation is forthcoming is the close connection between enagh and Tír Chonaill. In the Book it is based on the alleged esuscitation of Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Cenél Conaill, by St. aillin. In fact it must belong to much later times. That benefactions id come from Donegal to Fenagh may be taken as certain; otherwise he claim would not be made so categorically. This is perhaps the ne point in the Book that might repay further investigation. J. R.

THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. Edited, with a translation, by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A. Reproduced at the Ordnance Survey Office. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1940. 2 vols. 15s. each.

In a fairly recent catalogue of Irish books the two volumes of the Annals of Loch Cé were quoted at £7 10s. That they are now available to students of Irish history at the very reasonable price of 30s. is due to the enterprise of the Irish Manuscripts Commission in applying the Reflex Process to the original Rolls volumes. These two books are therefore merely a reproduction of the original text, and as such include the preface written by Hennessy in 1871. Since that time the study of Irish history has made rapid progress and one would wish to see a more "up-to-date" account of the Annals, and especially much fuller and more detailed notes than those of the present text.

In the meantime, students of these Annals may be referred to an interesting and scholarly article on them by Fr. Paul Walsh in the August number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Fr. Walsh examines the question of the origins of the annals and of the scribes. Much of this had, of course, been done already by Hennessy; but Fr. Walsh corrects him on a number of points and gives, besides, some interesting details about Brian Mac Diarmada, for whom the annals were compiled and who himself also took a share in the actual writing of them. It seems to me, however, that Fr. Walsh is too hard on Brian when he says that he "was on the English side until his death in 1592, and was closely associated with Bingham in particular." It is true that in 1571 he sided with Sir Edward Fitton, but this was clearly a matter of expediency in order to get help against his Mac Diarmada cousins who were ravaging his lands with the help of Scottish mercenaries. It is also true that in 1585 he received and feasted "with great honour" at his castle the notorious Sir Richard Bingham. On the other hand one wonders why he should have been taken prisoner in 1590 by the Governor's brother John Bingham, if his loyalty was so sure. And above all, the consistent tone of the Annals in these last twenty years is one of undisguised hostility to the English lords in Connacht. One need only turn to the year 1589 to read the annalist's opinion of Sir Richard: ". . . and of all the Clann Uilliam whom he did not hang, he set at war with the queen, and the Clann Domhnaill in like manner . . . And he made a bare polished garment [? Text: *breid slatach sairtheach*] of the province of Connacht."

The importance of these annals for the student of Irish History may be judged from what Fr. Walsh says of the final section, 1577–1590 "Apart from the Four Masters, it is the only native source for the history of those eventful years. It is perhaps the most important part of the whole narrative, first because it is particularly full, and secondly because it deals with the period when Gaelic Connacht was

finally disrupted." It may be added that the clearest conclusion to be drawn from this final section is that the disruption was due not so much to the activities of the Binghams as to the interminable and bitter quarrels between the native Irish lords and to their short-sighted policy of allying themselves with the invader in order to encompass their petty ends. S. Ó C.

Economics

PROFITS. Theoretical and Practical Aspects. By James P. Beddy, M.Comm. Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co. 1940. 12s. 6d.

The nature and importance of profit remains one of the least satisfactorily defined issues in economic science. Its position is perhaps a result of the fact that the function of the entrepreneur was the least obvious of the agents of production. Economic science did not develop until its students realised that land was not the sole source of wealth; and the classical economists were, for the greater part, more concerned with the part played, and the remuneration obtained, by capital and labour than with the function and reward of the entrepreneur. The existence of profit as an independent element in determining production was recognised at an early stage; but it was not easy to say of what it was composed, to whom it flowed, or of what action it was the result. It was necessary that the capitalistic system should develop its characteristic features before the element of true profit could be distinguished from irrelevant matters such as quasi-rents or earnings of management. As a result the theory of profits has remained a point which is still debated by contending schools.

In this treatise, which has been presented for the Doctorate in Economic Science in the National University, Mr. Beddy has first traced the various theories advanced during the nineteenth century. Having then examined the profits of business concerns, he concludes with some valuable observations on the wider significance of profit. His book will be read with advantage by every student of economics. The collation of the various theories is both lucid and complete: one wonders how the writer, with so many other claims on his time, could have succeeded so fully. In the first chapter of the second part of the book Mr. Beddy's practical experience enables him to examine the profits of business firms in valuable detail. Such examinations have indeed been made before and are quoted here, but it is not often that the student will find practical example side by side with theory.

There is very little to criticise in the later chapters, in which Mr. Beddy sums up on the nature of profit and touches upon its social significance. It seems, however, unfortunate that he has abandoned the old definition of profit as the reward paid to the entrepreneur and has substituted for it the statement that it is the return gained by

natural or acquired advantage. So far as one can see, Mr. Beddy does not intend to challenge the truth of the old nomenclature in any way; and it is hard to see what is gained by the change, which appears to arise merely from the fact that the definition is approached from a different angle. Having gone so far, he might perhaps have gone further and examined the implications of non-competitive groups. Mrs. Robinson and H. D. Dickinson have made valuable studies of this characteristic of production and, seeing that he had already done so much, it is unfortunate that Mr. Beddy did not follow up the clues given by "Economics of Imperfect Competition" and "Functional Revenue." But it is only fair to say that such a pursuit would have added enormously to the scale of this study.

One other point, however, calls for some mention. In dealing with the trade cycle one finds no reference to Haberler's "Prosperity and Depression," surely the best modern work on the subject. There may have been, as we are reminded, no less than 250 different theories advanced by 1895, but we have had only too many opportunities for study of the trade cycle since then. J. F. M.

Education

BUILDING CHARACTER FROM WITHIN. By John T. McMahon, M.A., Ph.D., H. Dip. Ed. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1940. Pp. 197. $1.75.

DR. MCMAHON, whose work-centre at Perth in West Australia has now for many years added expert command of the class-room and of school organisation to his most practical command of the pen, is here introduced to the American educator by Dr. George Johnson of Washington. One half of this most helpful, concrete and tersely presented text is given to seven introductory sections: they all lead up to the main problem, presented over a hundred pages in many aspects, the problem of Leisure. The working conditions of the home and of the school are substantially the same both in West Australia and over the United States surveyed as a whole. Most particularly is this made manifest in the positions of the isolated religious home in the "bush," the "back-blocks," and in the lonely farmsteads of American countrysides. Dr. McMahon, with ample practicality of plans, aims in the major aspect of this constructive series of directions to put the child of the solitary farm in close association with the child in the township and to achieve a thorough solidarity of interests between the families through the children, seeking sound character-building in close alliance between religious truth and the natural virtues.

Ready for publication just twelve months ago, in July 1939, this most stimulating bookfull of practical propositions views, as Dr.

Johnson stresses, "the process of character development as it takes place in the midst of the homely everyday things." He very appositely reaches the conclusion that Dr. McMahon "is one of the great apostles of Catholic education of our time, a Doer of the Word."

The significance of these clauses is all the greater when the teacher-leader recalls the void revealed by *The Times* leading article of last spring and the correspondence that it evoked. Little came in the way of constructive plans for recalling Religion to the vast majority of those schools of Great Britain (and of "Northern Ireland") out of which Religion has for many years drifted. The Recall can only be made through the basis of the home and the uses of all the possible world of activities focussed on home life and on its opportunities.

T. Corcoran

History

THE MONASTIC ORDER IN ENGLAND. A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216. By Dom David Knowles, O.S.B. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 45s.

For more than ten years past Dom David Knowles has been preparing himself for the important work which now appears from the Cambridge University Press. Since Cambridge has been identified so closely with Dr. Coulton's work on medieval monasticism, it is perhaps inevitable that a comparison should be made. According to the *Cambridge Bulletin* this book breaks new ground: "no other book covers the same ground, since Dr. Coulton's works do not begin so early in monastic history." That is true in part, though Dr. Coulton has much to say about many of the episodes described in this new volume. Far more important is the fact that Dom David writes as one who has lived the monastic life for many years and is familiar with all the traditions of Benedictine discipline. There is indeed a very real abnegation in the limits which the historian has here set himself. It must have been hard to forego the pleasure of writing once more about Benet Biscop, the Venerable Bede, St. Boniface and other glories of early English Benedictinism. But that has been done often, and done well. What was needed was a book in which all the immense collection of facts and legends that have been made available in volumes of the Rolls Series, the Camden Society, the Surtees Society and innumerable other English antiquarian societies should be sifted, grouped together in chronological order and made intelligible to the ordinary student of medieval history.

Since Dom Knowles has written a book of no less than 764 large pages, it is obvious that he has not aimed at a popular audience. But it would be wrong to assume that his forty chapters and twenty-three

appendices make dry reading. In spite of the overwhelming mass of material with which he deals, he has been singularly successful in analysing and summarising various religious movements in their broad outlines and making the average student understand what exactly each movement achieved. The opening chapter on the Rule of St. Benedict is perhaps the most satisfying account of Benedict's achievement which I have read, indicating the founder's limitations as well as his unquestioned greatness. The chapter on Norman monasticism, with its sections on Fécamp, Bec, Lanfranc and St. Anselm, is most illuminating for those who would understand what the Norman invasion meant for England in terms of religious observance. The chapters on St. Wulfstan of Worcester and his contemporary Aethelwig of Evesham; the significance of the new Cistercian movement, and its relation to other contemporary movements at Tiron, Savigny and Prémontré; the work of St. Stephen Harding at Cîteaux and St. Bernard at Clairvaux, and the first English Cistercian foundations near York; or the origins of English Carthusian traditions under Saint Hugh of Lincoln: these may be named as especially helpful chapters in a book that is rich in learning and wise commentary. I should like also to commend the author's most sympathetic and human portraits of many great monks: notably of St. Dunstan himself, St. Stephen Harding, Aelred of Rievaulx and the Cluniac Henry of Blois.

The second portion of the volume turns away from the historic narrative and studies the growth of English Benedictine institutions. There are chapters here on the office of Abbot; the administration of a monastery; the daily life of the monks; the intellectual activities of the Black Monks; the liturgy and the chant; the building of the great monastic churches; the influence of the feudal system on monastic organisation; the maintenance of religious discipline; and a final short chapter on the critics of the monks, with some exceedingly shrewd comments on our old friend Gerald of Wales and his contemporary Walter Map. Much of this is outside the competence of the present reviewer, who can only record his general impression that Dom David Knowles is an unusually learned and helpful guide through the labyrinth of all these problems. It is rare to find a book which is at once so full of information and at the same time so full of genuine human understanding. Its appearance, even in these unhappy times, should mark a turning-point in the study of English medieval institutions. The author's final summing-up is a masterly review of the whole subject, with a most penetrating analysis of the various forces that were sapping the vitality of English monasticism at the time of Magna Carta.

What has been said should suffice to show that this book will be welcomed everywhere by English students. I should like to add some

mments which will show that it is also a contribution of real value t the study of Irish medieval history—though Dom Knowles is udiously careful to avoid any but the most casual allusion to Irish onasticism. Here indeed is a defect, though it is not easy to blame n English scholar for steering well away from the quicksands of Irish edieval history. In his opening chapter on the Rule of Saint Benedict, om Knowles avoids any comparison with the Celtic monastic tradition hich was opposed to Benedictine monasticism in so many lands. n his second chapter he notes briefly that Irish monks from Iona troduced this Celtic type of monastic life into Northumbria, but ves no details. Yet here is a problem which needs to be faced. hen Dunstan set out to restore monastic life in Anglo-Saxon England wards the middle of the tenth century, he admittedly sought for idance from more than one quarter; and the *Regularis Concordia*, awn up at Winchester about 970, contains provisions that can be aced to the influence of different monastic communities. To quote om Knowles (p. 43): "The basis of the monastic life of the English vival was the normal use of Western Europe, inherited in part rhaps from the traditions of Glastonbury and other English churches, ut chiefly through information and training received from Fleury nd Ghent." In these communities the Benedictine tradition was aintained according to the normal type organised by St. Benedict f Aniane in the Carolingian age. Dom Knowles says truly that nothing in the code suggests that any attempt was made to reproduce ne simpler outline of the Rule or the missionary activities of the eltic monasteries of the north." But is it not rash to imply, as seems ere to be implied, that Dunstan owed nothing to the Irish monastic radition? We know from one of his early biographers that Dunstan as educated at Glastonbury, whither Irish pilgrims came in great umber; and we are also told that he made a special study of their ooks (*horum etiam libros . . . diligenter excoluit*). So little is known f Irish monasticism in the tenth century that Dom Knowles may be xcused for not having attempted to assess the possible extent of this nfluence on Dunstan's career as restorer of monastic life in England. But I have given details elsewhere in this issue of STUDIES which uggest that Celtic monasticism was more vital and fervent at this ime than is generally believed. The casual statement of one f Dunstan's earliest biographers thus opens a vista down which it is empting to peer.

A hundred years later the situation has been profoundly changed, argely owing to the success of St. Dunstan's work in England. For ater English monasticism, though it owed much to Norman inspiration nd guidance, had always a definitely English character; and this ook contains a most illuminating account of a small, fervent group

of monasteries in the Severn valley under two great spiritual leaders St. Wulfstan of Worcester and Abbot Aethelwig of Evesham. Her is a type of monasticism which owed little or nothing to the Cluniac revival, and which was at the height of its spiritual vitality when the Norman Conquest was still a remote possibility. Once again we are told in a contemporary chronicle that Irish pilgrims came in large numbers to Evesham, where they prayed at the shrine of St. Egwin: *multi peregrini de Aquitannia, de Hibernia ac de aliis terris plurimis*. Now there are clear indications that the earliest form of our medieval Anglo-Irish annals had some connection with the English abbey of Winchcombe, and the date of its first Irish entries suggests contact with Winchcombe shortly before 1090. Winchcombe and Evesham were both ruled for a time by Abbot Aethelwig; and it is tempting to guess that these early monastic annals were brought from the valley of the Severn to Dublin by some Irish pilgrim.

The same local connection is suggested by the unexpected appearance of an Irish missionary Bishop, known to Norse tradition as Ion Irski (John the Irishman), in the Baltic mission organised by the great German prelate Adalbert of Bremen. John the Irishman was martyred in Mecklenburg, with Gotteschalk (ancestor of the later Dukes of Mecklenburg), in 1066. The appearance of an Irish missionary in this area is, so far as I know, an isolated phenomenon. Dom Knowles does not mention this John, but he has thrown new light on these events by pointing out that Evesham had close family connections with King Cnut of England and Denmark. English missionaries went from Evesham to Denmark and Norway at this time, and it is very probable that "John the Irishman" was an Irish or Dano-Irish monk, perhaps from Dublin or Wexford.

These names have more than a passing interest for students of Irish history. There are, as I hope to argue elsewhere, good reasons for suggesting a connection between King Cnut and the new episcopal see of Dublin, which was founded either within his lifetime or a few years after his death. The connection with Evesham and Winchcombe suggests also a possible connection with St. Wulfstan, perhaps the most attractive of all the Anglo-Saxon monastic Bishops. "We read of the many psalms which he added in private to those of the office, of the frequent visits by day and night to the numerous altars and churches of the town, and of sleep on the floor of the church." So Dom Knowles describes one whom he takes as a type of English monasticism at its purest. Such a type of austere sanctity was bound to make a profound impression on the Irish (most probably Leinster or Dublin) pilgrims who visited Evesham and Worcester. Our students of the Irish medieval reform have invariably assumed that Lanfranc was the first English prelate to influence Irish ecclesiastical life. W

ow from contemporary sources that two of Dublin's early Bishops re educated as monks at Winchester and St. Alban's (a fact which om Knowles has omitted to chronicle). These two monasteries were ought under the influence of Norman monasticism from the first ys of Lanfranc's work as Archbishop of Canterbury; and Dublin as thus brought into immediate contact with the Norman traditions Bec, and so with the Cluniac Customs that were followed there. t it may well be that Dublin had already come under the influence Worcester, where a tradition more akin to the native Irish tradition as dominant.

One last point may be noted here as further proof of the value this learned work to students of Irish history. We are all familiar ith the importance of the Cistercian tradition in the life of medieval eland. Mellifont was founded in 1140, within the lifetime of Saint ernard; and it was founded by monks from Clairvaux. Dom David nowles tells the story of the first English Cistercian foundations: averley (1128); Rievaulx (1132); and Fountains (1133). But he so describes contemporary movements of monastic reform at such ntres as Tiron in Brittany and Savigny in Normandy. Monks of iron reached St. Dogmael's in Wales in 1113-15, and founded a onastery which later was the parent of a monastic cell at Caldey. onks of Savigny reached Tulket near Preston in 1124, and founded ie great abbey of Furness in Lancashire in 1127. Furness was to e the parent of more than one Hiberno-Norman Cistercian foundation the next hundred years; for Furness, like all the other group of avigniac houses, was affiliated to Clairvaux in 1147. Meanwhile some ozen Savigniac houses had been founded in England, among them ie monastery of Buildwas in Gloucestershire. This foundation dates om 1135. If we may trust the Annals of St. Mary's, Dublin, the reat Dublin Cistercian monastery was founded from Buildwas in 139, a year before the foundation of Mellifont. There is here an bvious dilemma. Either St. Mary's was founded from Buildwas in 139, in which case it was originally a Savigniac, not a Cistercian undation; or it was from the first a Cistercian house, in which case cannot have been founded earlier than 1147. I must confess that I ave always thought it probable that the Annals of St. Mary's give n untrustworthy date for the foundation of the Dublin abbey. The mptation must have been great to claim antiquity for the Dublin undation as against Mellifont, which is known to have been founded 1140. Irish tradition has always counted Mellifont as the parent ouse of Irish Cistercianism; and Mellifont was later the centre of a rong Irish tradition, whilst St. Mary's, with its daughter-houses of unbrothy and Granard, was strongly Anglo-Irish in the thirteenth entury. So too were the daughter-houses of Furness in Ulster. But

this antagonism of two Cistercian traditions in Ireland has nothing t do with the Savigniac origins of Furness and Buildwas. It is rathe part of that disastrous antagonism between two races which did untol harm to the religious as well as to the national life of this country i the later Middle Ages.

In England, as Dom Knowles here shows with a wealth of deta and learned commentary, the Norman Conquest brought a great tid of religious fervour and observance to a country that had grow accustomed, under Edward the Confessor, to Norman ways of lif In Ireland the Anglo-Norman adventure of Strongbow and hi companions (though they came from a part of England with whic Dublin at least had been in close contact for many centuries) brough confusion to a vigorous and most promising movement of nationa and religious reform. AUBREY GWYNN

THE ENGLISH AUSTIN FRIARS IN THE TIME O WYCLIF. By Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. Oxford University Pres 1940. 15s.

FR. GWYNN'S modesty and generous recognition of help got fro others will not deceive the reader of his latest volume into thinkin that his work has been easy. With patient research he has not on gathered and compared, criticized, accepted or rejected the man fragmentary documents bearing on his subject, but has unearthed s much new material that in future no full understanding of religiou and theological ideas in fourteenth century England can be satisfactor without this work. To the ordinary historical student perhaps the mai importance of this excellent study lies in the fact that the Augustinia played such a very big part in the development of English politic religious thought in so critical and, from many aspects, so modern century. Many interested in the story of the growth of religious orde and their part in the evolution of educational ideas will find, in th introductory chapters, a field hitherto unexplored by English writer The privileges granted by various priors general for eminence in studi undoubtedly encouraged the worldly-minded among the friars to th more assiduous pursuit of learning; that some were qualifying f these privileges on the strength of academic distinctions too easil obtained is made clear by the later decree insisting on a higher standar of education and that henceforth only Paris, Oxford and Cambrid should be *studia generalia* for the order. This decree of 1355, choosin the two English universities to the exclusion of all Italian seats learning, naturally led to an influx of Italian students and schola whose influence Fr. Gwynn studies later.

The section on Augustinian theology includes analyses of th teachings of Giles of Rome, Thomas of Strassburg and Gregory

rimini, all generals of the order, and concludes with a very able summary of the Augustinian theory of Lordship and Grace which so exercised continental thinkers of the period. The student even only slightly acquainted with dantesque and general trecento literature is very much aware of the importance of this subject, and must be grateful to the author for his concise and very clear exposition of the theological background. Its great consequence in the English religious upheaval of the latter part of the fourteenth century is studied very fully in the final section of the book on Wyclif and the English friars.

To those who have not read some of Fr. Gwynn's other works his happy blending of the story-teller's art and luxuriance of documented detail must come as a pleasant surprise. Particularly true is this of the chapters on the Friars in England in which we read much, too, of their friends and antagonists, such as the Earls of Hereford and Essex and Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh. The influx of Italian friars and their influence from a humanist as well as from a scholastic standpoint leads to a brief sketch of Petrarch's relations with the Augustinians. Perhaps the author does not sufficiently emphasize the point, so overlooked by commentators and biographers, that not only was Petrarch a friend of the Augustinians and an admirer of St. Augustine but that this admiration for the saint and his writings reached almost the nature of a cult. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a manuscript of the *De vera religione* which once belonged to the poet, and in thirteen marginal annotations which he made he refers aptly to passages in nine different works of the saint. I have not been able to consult *Les Ermites de St. Augustin, amis de Pétrarque*, by Emile Van Moé which seems to be Fr. Gwynn's authority for stating that "in 1369 Petrarch retired to the little Augustinian convent of Arquà in the Euganean hills, there to end his days in study and prayer." But Petrarch's own account is that he himself built a little house for his retirement in these hills near Este: "Per la qual cosa non volendomi io allontanar troppo dal mio Benefizio, in uno de' colli Euganei, di lungi dalla città di Padova presso a dieci miglia, edificai una casa piccola, ma piacevole e decente. . . . . Or qui io traggo la mia vita." (Marsand: *Memorie del Petrarca*).

It was a happy "stumble," to use the author's own word, which brought Fr. Gwynn to Adam Stocton's manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It not only throws light on the part played by the friars during the Wyclif crisis, but also contains the better of the two extant copies of the three letters written to the English friars by William Flete. This leads to the very interesting study of that saintly though stubborn English hermit of the Selva del Lago and his

relations with St. Catherine's *famiglia* during the critical days o Avignon and the Great Schism.

The final section, the longest in the book, is devoted to a masterl study of the development of Wyclif's teachings, to his increasin importance in theological and political England in the latter part o the century, and in particular to the friendship and opposition o various Augustinians. In dealing with Wyclif's tract *De Captiv Hispanico* Fr. Gwynn accepts the common English version regardin this prisoner who caused such a flutter in English religious and politica circles in 1377. On page 252 the prisoner's titles are given as Coun of Ribagorza and Denia, Marquis of Villena and Duke of Gandia It is true that the Marquis of Villena was made prisoner, probabl by one Richard Henry Chamberlain a follower of the Black Prince' at the battle of Nájera in 1367 ; but he was held only for a very shor time, and on handing over his two sons, D. Alfonso and D. Pedr as hostages, the Marquis was released to collect the ransom-mone demanded by the English. After the battle of Montiel, not much ove a year later, Enrique II found himself secure on the throne of Castil and remembered his old follower, the Marquis. It is recorded that h gave Villena 50,000 golden *doblas* to enable him to buy the freedo of his two sons, one of whom, D. Alfonso, was the *captivus hispanicus* The negotiations dragged on ; but finally D. Alfonso got back to Spai probably towards the end of 1377, but never succeeded to his father titles. (For references to the Marquis of Villena and his sons see *Crónica del rey D. Pedro*, ano XVIII ; Zurita, *Anales de Aragón*, t. II *Adiciones a la Crónica de D. Pedro*, XVII ; Cotarelo y Mori, *Do Enrique de Villena ; Adiciones a la Crónica de Enrique* III, XII.)

The author's copious references to sources and his list of MS used for his work are some indication of the extent of his painstakin labours in continental, English and home libraries. The printing an general production of the volume by the Oxford University Press i in keeping with the high standard of the contents. P. McB.

THE MONGOL EMPIRE. By Michael Prawdin. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. London : Allen and Unwin. 1940 21s. net.

STALIN, Czar of all the Russias. By Eugene Lyons. London Harrap. 1940. 9s. net.

THERE is more in common between these two books than the bana journalistic comparison, faithfully reproduced by Mr. Lyons, betwee Stalin and Jenghiz Khan. It is a circumstance by no means due t Stalin that present-day Russia does in fact contain within its border almost all the empire conquered by Jenghiz himself, and that its racia composition, for all its Slav veneer, is to quite a considerable exten

ngol and Turkish: one of its "autonomous" regions, Uzbekistan, actually called after a descendant of the conqueror, and certain its persistent imperial aspirations, notably in attempts to extend power in China and Iran, represent still living items of its Mongol ritage. To understand something of the real significance of Russia world history, a knowledge of the gigantic achievement of Jenghiz d his descendants is clearly essential. A simultaneous reading of o such works as those here under review illuminates very effectively e forces that remain constant in Russian history, whether they take e forms prescribed by the "enlightenment" of the 18th century or the "scientific politics" of the 20th. These forces, in spite of cidental Western disguises, are ultimately Asiatic rather than uropean in their original impulses and in their final directions.

The very considerable value of Mr. Prawdin's book is slightly iminished at first by the reader's inevitable vagueness about its uthor's personality. He is clearly not one of the recognised first-und authorities on his subject, on which historians have done quite n amount of really brilliant work. A note at the back of the title-ge seems almost intended to stimulate, or perhaps better to irritate, ur curiosity. "The original edition," we are told, "of the Russian uthor's book entitled *Tschingis-Khan und sein Erbe* was published German in 1938." His name, which seems to be merely a nickname erived from the word *Pravda*, "truth," is spelt German fashion, as to mystify still further those invited to buy his book. There is also certain novelistic quality about his style which makes one doubtful ere and there how far he is merely inventing. One wonders also hether the word "Europasian," which turns up very frequently, is be set down to his discredit or to that of his very excellent translators; ut presumably he alone must bear the guilt of explaining the name la-ed-din as "the Shadow of Allah."

When all these reservations—and they are really slight—have been ade, it must be conceded that the book has a high value in its kind. t is a very full and reasonably accurate history of the Mongols from e rise of Jenghiz down to the present day, illustrated by a series of seful sketch-maps and by two slightly less useful large maps on the sides of the cover. The bibliography is a rather unsystematic ollection, often of merely popular books, but the author himself has learly mastered his subject and can make it all interesting in spite of s remoteness and vastness of scale. One misses a chapter on the eographical background of nomadism, so hard to grasp and yet so ssential to all understanding, and one would be grateful too if the uthor had come more to grips with the military aspects of the Mongol onquest. The book, indeed, even as it stands, provides a remarkable ommentary on wars nearer in time than the 13th century. Such

weapons as the "fifth column," elaborately-propagated terrorism, calculated breaches of the "rules of warfare," surprise, mobility, and speed of concentration on the vital point, are all abundantly exemplified in the campaigns of Jenghiz Khan, his son Ogatai, and his grandsons Batu and Hulagu. Those who speak, as does Mr. Lyons, of Stalin as having leaped, by the great purges of 1935 and later, to "first place among the bloodiest rulers in the memory of mankind" have only to be referred to the records of Timur the Lame as set down here to find their refutation. On the other hand, like most great conquerors, men such as Jenghiz and Timur were not without some redeeming features. What strikes one most of all in reading of their exploits, apart from the transient nature of their conquests and the unexpected turns so regularly taken by their most cherished designs, is the misery of the populations subjected to their limitless cruelties and endless massacres.

That these methods of government are unchangingly Asiatic is one of the lessons to be derived from a comparison of Mr. Lyons's book with Mr. Prawdin's. Mr. Lyons is a highly competent American journalist, whose *Assignment in Utopia* has been widely praised as one of the best recent books on Russia. The book under review is slight and brief, but written with great skill and a force all the more telling for its restraint. As a convert from at least strong sympathy with Communism in its earlier Russian phases, Mr. Lyons cannot pretend to entire impartiality, although he found Stalin, in the course of a long interview in 1930, to be "a thoroughly likeable person." Irishmen familiar with political prisons or with the reminiscences of political prisoners, for instance, will not find his description of Stalin's apparently very unlikeable qualities in that capacity any proof of extreme depravity. Although he criticises Trotsky and his associates strongly and soundly for their "principled amorality"—this is almost the soundest thing in his book—he still feels a romantic admiration for the idealism and the "moral grandeur" of the revolution, which Stalin has killed. His clarity and candour are thus to a certain extent vitiated by failure to carry to its logical conclusion his own diagnosis. The apparent perversion by the dictator, who boasts of his Asiatic origin, of what appealed to romantic admirers of Lenin and Trotsky, is in reality nothing more than the inevitable working out of the frightful principles which neither, to do them so much justice, originated, but both inherited from Marx and through Marx from Hegel and his materialist perverters of a century ago.

Mr. Lyons convincingly suggests that Stalin, in killing off all the old revolutionaries and retaining only the patter of the Communist agitator, has in reality gone back to the methods and ideas of Peter the Great, whose name, with that of Ivan the Terrible, he has indeed restored to official honour. The one difference is that, in retaining

International, he has kept a power of intervention in other countries ch as the Czars never possessed, though Alexander I very nearly ade legitimacy into a similar weapon. Russia has, through Stalin's ency, sloughed off the European pseudo-idealism of the original mmunists and reverted to her abiding historical character—a estern province of Jenghiz Khan's empire, still governed by the ngolian technique of mass-slaughter. Stalin's autocratic brand of mmunism has completed the work begun by Peter the Great when took control of the Orthodox Church, and the famous philosophy, hich claimed to identify theory with practice and to possess the key the whole future of mankind, has joined hands across the ages with e primitive Shamanism which in the 13th century saluted Jenghiz Ssutu-Bogdo, "the God-sent." M. T.

IBLIOGRAPHY OF CHIOS. From Classical Times to 1936. By Philip P. Argenti. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940. 42s.

HIS finely-produced work of nearly nine hundred pages furnishes an xample of patriotism that might well be followed by Irishmen. Its uthor, a member of a very distinguished old Chian family, has made his life-work to study and illustrate the history of his island, and has ublished many books and papers especially on the period since the ccupation by the Turks in 1566. Chios has only belonged to Greece nce 1914, but it has always been one of the most important centres Greek nationality in the best sense of the word. Its area is only 20 square miles and its population only about 100,000. The most mous incident in its recent history has been the frightful Turkish assacre of 1822 in which less than five thousand of its people escaped eath or slavery. Owing to its remarkable situation on the chief evantine trade-routes, it has always been very wealthy, and even nder the Turks it flourished exceedingly, being a special appanage f the Sultanas and therefore privileged. Thus it had the earliest rinting-press on Greek soil and was noted for its library and its agnificent high school, almost a university. From 1346-1566 it had een a Genoese possession, and thus had shared in the splendours of ne Italian Renaissance. As a result it has always contained a number f Latin Catholic families, and under the Turks one member of its ouncil was invariably of the Latin rite.

Perhaps the greatest modern Chiote was Adamantios Koraes, whose cholarship did so much to arouse Western, and especially French, nterest in the cause of resurgent Greece during the revolutionary eriod. Ancient Chios has a good claim to be the birthplace of Homer, "the blind old man from Scio's rocky isle" according to the *Hymn o Apollo*. Thus the history of the island has an interest both for the lassical and the modern scholar, and as its contacts with the outer

world have always been lively and far-reaching, the whole of Greek life comes within the scope of such a work as that of Mr. Argenti. It falls into three parts: a subject-catalogue, an authors' catalogue and a chronological list of MS. and printed maps. The first part is again subdivided into two, covering the periods before and after 1566, and there are further subdivisions covering archaeology in all its branches, language and literature, political and economic history, social history, including genealogy, heraldry, education, sport, costume, and many other topics, and finally folk-lore and religion. The entries are very full, including even such details as a reference to *L'Illustration* for 1881, the year in which occurred a particularly disastrous earthquake, and giving after each work cited a list of the principal libraries in which it may be found, with reference-numbers complete. This last is surely a case of excessive generosity and must have added greatly to the cost of the book. But such ungracious gratitude is the only criticism we can offer of the piety and devotion to his native place which have led Mr. Argenti to amass for our benefit a treasure so abundant and so rich. M. T.

HISTORY OF THE POPES. From the German of the late Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. Vols. XXX, XXXI and XXXII. London: Kegan Paul. 1940. 16s. each.

Dom Ernest Graf is doing good work by continuing the standard translation of Pastor's *History of the Popes*. Here and there, it must be admitted, the translation has a German flavour which was less noticeable in the earlier volumes; but the essential thing is that we should have a complete English Pastor as soon as possible. These three volumes carry the story from the pontificate of Innocent X (1644-55) through the brief pontificates of Alexander VII, Clement IX, Clement X, Innocent XI and Alexander VIII to the nine years' pontificate of Innocent XII (1691-1700). The mere enumeration of these names is a reminder that the story which Pastor has to tell lacks the dramatic quality of many of the earlier volumes. Personal issues play a smaller part, and the drama centres round such movements as Jansenism and Gallicanism in France, Quietism in Italy, and the struggle between Louis XIV's absolutist policy in his kingdom and the waning papal influence. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes forms a dramatic climax in the last of these three volumes; but the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in spite of repeated papal protests is the central episode of the first volume; and this public failure of papal diplomacy marks the beginning of a long period of decline in papal prestige throughout Europe.

The Peace of Westphalia terminated the Thirty Years War in

rmany ; but its acceptance of the principle *Cuius regio eius et religio* s as much a triumph for French diplomacy as for the Protestant rty among the German princes. Cardinal Mazarin dominates the ne during these tedious negotiations, and his dubious personality es a dramatic quality to what is a sordid tale. In Rome the Pope s weak, and the succession of Cardinal nephews, with his amazing ter-in-law, Olimpia Maidalchini-Pamfili, as the real power behind e scenes, did nothing to strengthen his position. Mazarin's support s essential for papal success in the struggle with Jansenism, of which stor gives a lively picture. But Mazarin knew well where French erests lay, and his relations with Oliver Cromwell are but one of ny reminders that French policy paid little heed to the needs of e Catholic cause in Europe.

Innocent X's successors have for the most part left no more than passing memory. The second of these three volumes would make ll reading were it not for the astonishing episode of Queen Christina Sweden. Those who have consulted some of the valuable manuscripts ich this convert from Lutheranism bequeathed to the Vatican brary may be excused for having a soft spot in their hearts for Queen ristina ; but Pastor's chapter on her romantic and not always ifying story illustrates the drawbacks of a situation in which even e most troublesome distinguished convert gains undue importance. ie last of these three volumes covers some important controversies France. Bossuet's part in the formulation of the Four Gallican rticles of 1682 is fully analysed ; as also Louis XIV's motives in eking to conciliate the Holy See by the Revocation of the Edict of antes in the following year. The arrest and condemnation of Molinos Rome is described under the year 1686, and a later chapter tells ie story of Bossuet's quarrel with Fénelon over the condemnation Madame Guyon. The struggle between probabilists and anti-obabilists came to a head under Innocent XII, when the Jesuit eneral, Thyrso Gonzalez, who had been elevated to that post by nocent XI, threw his own order into confusion by the publication a book in which probabilist theories were fiercely attacked.

These internal dissensions distract our attention from the grave angers which were threatening all Christendom in these very years. nocent XI's pontificate is memorable for the great victory of Sobieski id the Imperial army over the Turks at Vienna in 1683. Pastor ays, it must be admitted, poor tribute to the splendid services of oland's hero. But he is surely correct in his final verdict : " Whilst ie merits of the Polish King are thus diversely appreciated, the istorians of all parties and nations are unanimous as to the great art played by Innocent XI in the turn of the world's history which ie relief of Vienna implies." A. G.

THE BENEDICTINES OF CALDEY. By Peter F. Anson London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1940. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. ANSON is well qualified to tell the remarkable story of the monk of Caldey. He was for years a member, with simple vows, of the community. He witnessed the great movement of expansion when the monks returned for the second time to Caldey in 1906. He lived through the crisis which led to the conversion in 1913. His name i on the list of those who rejected the demands of Bishop Gore—demand which would have meant for the monks the repudiation of all they had believed in and striven for. He tells the story with sympathy charity, and not without humour. His account of the conversio is very moving. His beautiful line drawings are a great addition t the book.

The story of the monks of Caldey in all its stages is the story o that remarkable man Aelred Carlyle. As a boy he had read of th monastic life of the old English church and had been permanentl influenced by this vision of English monasticism. Several attempt at religious and monastic life had been attempted in the Anglica church. While studying medicine he had come to discover a communit of women who were trying to live the life of Benedictine nuns. Moreove several visits to Buckfast abbey served to strengthen his resolve t restore to the Church of England the Benedictine life that had bec so great a feature in the pre-reformation Church. He was admitte to an incipient foundation of Oblates of St. Benedict, of whom h became the leader. The young foundation had many changes of plac and work, but Aelred Carlyle held it together and overcame obstacl that would have overcome a less determined man. In 1901 he w offered the use of Caldey—a small island, with a long monastic histor lying off the coast of Pembrokeshire, a few miles from Tenby. Owin to financial difficulties and the unworkable conditions of their presenc on the island, the community, after a year, retired to Painsthorp Hall in Yorkshire, lent them by Lord Halifax. In 1906 the community now considerably grown and organized, was enabled to return to Calde as the owners of the island.

The seven years that followed were a strange time. The monaster prospered exceedingly. Abbot Carlyle had big ideas and planne and built on an impressive scale. The complete Catholic monasti life was carried on with full rubrical dignity. Crowds of people cam to visit the monastery. High Anglicans were jubilant; Lord Halifa called Caldey " the greatest phenomenon in the Anglical communion. Low Churchmen and Kensitites attacked it. The Bishops were no committal. Then the crisis came quickly. The abbot was anxiou for full recognition and authority from the heads of the Anglica Church. Bishop Gore of Oxford was commissioned to investigat

eir case, and he opened the negotiations by a demand that they ould abandon all practices that were not in strict accordance with e tenets of the Anglican Church. There was no need to go any rther in the negotiations. The abbot saw that there was no room r a Benedictine foundation in the Church of England. He made his own mind that he must seek authority from Rome. He called s community together and told them of his resolution. All except o decided to follow him. The Benedictine convent of nuns, St. ide's, came over to Rome at the same time.

This was the most sensational conversion that ever took place England. The whole incident seems to show that there is a limit the comprehensiveness of that strange institution the Church of gland. But perhaps that is too much to conclude from this incident, cause there have been before and after Caldey many Anglican periments in religious and monastic life. But the story of Caldey eded to be told, and it has found a most successful historian in Mr. nson.

H. K.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHY FOR OUR TIMES. By C. E. M. Joad. London: Nelson. 1940. 7s. 6d.

HE title of this book is just, though philosophy as such is timeless. r. Joad writes for his contemporaries, and more particularly for ose contemporaries who, like himself, have been brought up in that mosphere of scepticism and unbelief which is all-pervasive now—nearly so—in the intellectual circles of Great Britain and the English-eaking world. In his introduction he gives a description of the ental bewilderment and moral malaise which ensue. It is as sympa-etic as it is temperate; yet it makes sad reading—depicting, as it es, a younger generation wholly uprooted not only from religion t from any coherent *Weltanschauung* capable of sustaining a spiritual e of any kind.

The Victorian sceptics destroyed the basis of faith. Their successors pudiate the pseudo-rationalism offered as a substitute, but have not turned to the faith; they have revolted against reason as well as ligion and are trying to live their lives in an intellectual vacuum—hich is, of course, fatal to any existence worthy of man. Mr. Joad eks to remedy this deplorable state of affairs by establishing what calls the values of life—namely truth, goodness, beauty and happi-ss. These, he holds, are absolutes. They are objective and real, t merely relative and subjective. They are transcendentals, though does not use the word, and as such are beyond the reach and out-de the scope of the empirical sciences—which, by the way, necessarily resuppose and rest upon the often derided science of metaphysics.

A recall, therefore, to metaphysics is necessary; and our author seek to sound this recall by presenting his readers with the results of wha he considers the best speculation of the wise men of the past.

The design is admirable, and Mr. Joad brings to the accomplish ment of it an intelligence of a high order and an acquaintance wit the subject which must have involved very wide and serious reading He ranges from Plato and Aristotle down to Sidgwick and Bergson He finds a place for Confucius and Lao-Tse, for most schools of thought— with one notable exception—which have any claim to serious con sideration. And he writes with a serenity, lucidity and critical acume that make his pages easily intelligible and extremely interesting. Hi work is thus eminently worth while, and can be recommended to tho for whom it is intended as a preparation for something more complete

But only as a preparation. There is pathos, almost tragedy, i the spectacle of this most earnest and highly capable inquirer search ing time and space for the clue to the riddle which baffles him, eve in the end, and forces him to conclude on a note of hesitation, whil overlooking the solution which could be found in any authoritativ manual of Thomistic philosophy. I have said that there was on notable exception to the universality of his quest. In the whol volume there is no reference or even allusion to St. Thomas—or t any single representative of Catholic philosophy.

Now, on the face of it, this is surely paradoxical. Mr. Joad mig conceivably have examined and rejected the *philosophia perenni* But to ignore it utterly, to write as if the problems he handles ha never even been treated by Scholasticism, is well-nigh unintelligibl It is also ironical, because Mr. Joad is really, by every tendency his mind, a Scholastic who has mistaken his allegiance. He profess formal adhesion to the Plato-Berkeley-Kant-Sidgwick tradition. Bu typically enough, when he wishes to define metaphysics and expla its predominant role, he has recourse to Aristotle rather than to Plat and by maintaining the validity of our analytical (*a priori*) judgmen he abandons Kant for the older and sounder epistemology of the School

It seems almost incredible, then, that a mind really acute an logical could fail to see that the principle of causality follows—an with it the metaphysical proofs for the existence of God. These M Joad barely mentions, and then only to tell us that they have n been found satisfactory, that they do not satisfactorily establish th Divine existence—which, he considers, must be attained by the myst approach, if at all. Having abandoned in this way, without actual denying it, the very key-position for the ratification and explanati of the four values he seeks to rescue from the mud-flats in which th lie buried, he is able, indeed, to argue tellingly and cogently again relativism, subjectivism, materialistic scientism and philosophic hedo

; but he finds himself in difficulties in the later task of establishing own system—even to his own satisfaction. With characteristic idour he admits this, and leaves one wondering why and how a nker capable of working his way through such an accumulation of or and prejudice should fail to see that he already holds in his hands e clue to all the mysteries, that it really lies in his own premises if re-examines them. Personally I cannot help feeling that he will discover it; for the writer of this book has travelled too steadtly from the far-country of the Prodigal not to find ultimately his ther's home. In that home of many mansions we will discern his ir values—truth, goodness, beauty, happiness—logically justified d duly related to their ontological fountain-head. Not till he does s will he rightly interpret his beloved Plato's archetypes—which, it ems to the reviewer at least, are only intelligible in the light of the ler and finer synthesis of St. Thomas.

Amicus Plato, magis amicus Aristotles, maxime omnium Angelicus—at, I fancy, would be the profession of faith of a complete philosophy. hy does Mr. Joad persistently ignore the greatest of all the wise men the history of human thought? It is very astonishing and, for the rpose he has in view, unfortunate. If he had not closed his eyes to e strongest and clearest of all philosophical traditions, he could have luced his work to half its present dimensions, while making it more mplete and conclusive. If St. Thomas the theologian lay outside purview, St. Thomas the philosopher did not. Mr. Joad's book thus like a survey of epic poetry without mention of Dante, or like treatise on dramatic art without an allusion to Shakespeare. And . Joad is not quite unconscious of the lacuna, as may be seen from e Postscript, which is as noble in its sincerity as it is pathetic in its vistful agnosticism"—to use his own phrase.

When Mr. Joad, in further research, discovers where truth—absoe and eternal—finds its resting place, whence beauty emanates, here goodness dwells in its perfection and where happiness is found its fullness, the scales will fall from his eyes as from Saul's; and his ilosophy will be for our times and for all times. But it will not new and will not call for a new religion or a new revelation. The l suffices—if understood.

P. J. Gannon

GICA FORMALIS. By Joseph Fröbes. Roma: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana. 1940. 50 lire.

NCE he began to live and act, man has reasoned, sometimes rightly d more often wrongly. When he reasoned rightly, even by accident, was exercising the art of thinking. It is not the least of the hievements of the genius of Aristotle that he was the first to discover d expound this art; that he was the first to map out the path of

true reasoning, to survey accurately the route that the mind takes in passing from what it knows to something new. The elements of human thought, the nature of concepts and judgments, the relations of judgments, especially the relations that are involved in ratiocination—all these he analysed and defined. In this work it might be said he had no predecessor. It has been said that he has had no successor—as if the whole art had been completed by him. This is true with considerable limitations. But even with the limitations the achievement of Aristotle is an unique thing. His logical works are called the *organon*, the instrument; and in them Aristotle has given man knowledge of the instrument he uses in all his mental activity, the art of reasoning in its widest extent.

Obviously an art so much exercised would get many accretions and modifications in the course of time. Hence there has arisen great variety of view and opinion and exposition in all the fields of logic. In face of this variety and exuberance Father Fröbes has conceived the excellent but formidable idea of gathering up all the best things that have been written on this subject and of synthesising them into one treatise—or rather of incorporating them into the framework and system of Aristotle's logic. It was a laborious task and the book is a monument of learning. A whole library of logical works have been read, noted and inwardly digested to furnish the matter of this stout and broad volume of over 400 pages—many of them in small print. The amount of matter the book contains is immense; and at times condensation produces obscurity. Fr. Fröbes's work is divided into the traditional four sections, dealing respectively with the concept, judgment, reasoning, and method. The subdivisions under each book are also on traditional lines. The books on reasoning and method are the fullest, for obvious reasons. Especially the book on method deserves particular commendation for its fullness. In this the author expounds that part of logic which has been the most exploited and has had the greatest success in modern times—the art and method of research in all its branches.

This book is extraordinarily comprehensive; there is scarcely any question or aspect of formal logic that is not treated more or less fully. For example there is a very serviceable introduction to logistics. It was part of Fr. Fröbes's aim to make a synthesis of doctrine from his various and copious elements—*omnia in unitatem theoriae logicae coniungere*. He has submitted all he has used to a criticism from the point of view of the *philosophia perennis* of the Schools. But in very many matters a synthesis would be impossible. Even minor logic cannot prescind from metaphysics and psychology; and from irreconcilable systems and principles will come irreconcilable logical notions. Fr. Fröbes's industry has achieved, if not the impossible

least all that could be reasonably expected. His book will be remely useful to professors and students of formal logic.

H. K.

INCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY. By Francis L. Harmon, Ph.D. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1938. pp. 609.

is excellent work succeeds in combining an adequate account of entific psychology, as it actually exists to-day, with sufficient treatnt of the philosophical foundations of psychology. The philosophical erpretations are not so much expounded *ex professo* as judiciously erwoven at suitable points with the exposition of the material. e facts are thus presented in their correct philosophical perspective; d, without much express polemic, a very necessary corrective is ovided against current one-sided and distorted views. The book ectively shows how all the justified results of psychological investigan may be fully assimilated within the framework of Scholastic nciples.

The exposition of the methods and results of investigation in the rious departments of Psychology is admirably clear and plain, and obviously the outcome of much experience in teaching. The account these results is much fuller than in most works on Psychology from e Scholastic standpoint.

The chapters on the organic basis of activity, neural organization, d sensation are excellent examples of clear exposition with adequate -to-date presentation of the facts. The author shows throughout e book great tact in selection of the most important and relevant ta from the very extensive material. Naturally, much space is ven to the subjects which are most prominent at present: perception, rning, intelligence, emotion and instinct, work and fatigue. A eful feature of the book is the abundance of good illustrations.

J. S.

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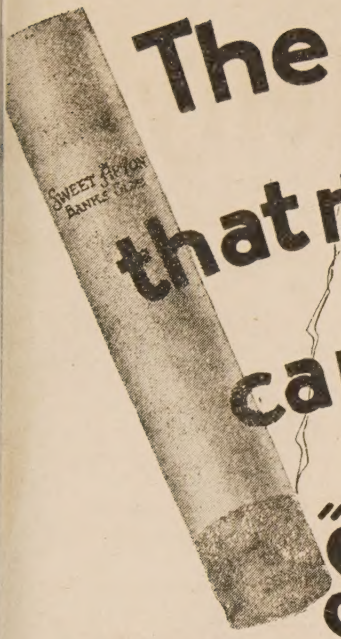

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